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LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

SHRI Lal Bahadur Shastri's talents and abilities as a political leader, his cool courage and resolution in war, his sincere devotion to peace, his vision as a statesman, and his qualities as a human being, have been discussed and praised elsewhere. We shall limit ourselves in this note to his views on public administration and to his major contributions towards its improvement. Shastriji had, however, a remarkably integrated personality; he had certain basic values and attitudes which were reflected in all that he did or said. The qualities that distinguished him as a political leader and a man are the very qualities that found expression in his approach to problems of public administration.

In his first broadcast to the nation on assuming office as Prime Minister, Shri Shastri said, "....there is a widespread feeling — which I share — that extensive reform of the administration is essential if the tasks of economic development and social reconstruction are to be accomplished.... The administrative organisation and its methods and processes must be modernised if it is to become an effective instrument of economic change. I shall do my best to see that these major problems receive systematic attention, and I shall apply myself closely to the problem of administrative reform in its various aspects". The idea of a commission with terms and reference encompassing the whole field of Indian administration had taken root in Shastri's mind while he was Minister of Home Affairs, but faced with numerous pressing international and national problems in 1965 he could well have taken the view, as many civil servants did, that appointment of a commission might wait for another year or two. Shri Shastri however, felt after watching the effect of the steps taken by him for cutting down procedural delays, effecting organisational improvements, and generally speeding up decision making, that a comprehensive review of the entire system of administration was an urgent necessity. And once he reached this conclusion, he proceeded to appoint a commission to make such an inquiry. This was typical of him : he could not be dissuaded from bold action once he felt that milder measures would not do. The Administrative Reforms Commission is the first body of its kind to be appointed in a period of some 50 years ; and it may well be that the Commission's work, expected to be completed before the end of 1967, will influence the administration of this country for some decades.

There are some other examples of his readiness to take major decisions in the field of administration. A proposal to set up a Central Bureau of Investigation had been mooted and considered in some detail as early as 1948. But for one reason or another the matter had remained pending for some 14 years. Shri Shastri decided that such an organisation should be brought into existence without delay, fixed a date for it, and the Bureau was constituted on that date — 1st April, 1963. To mention another instance, he came to the conclusion that a committee with an eminent person from public life as its chairman should review the whole problem of integrity in administration, and the Santhanam Committee was the prompt outcome. The composition of the Committee with four members drawn from Parliament and two from the civil service was an illustration of one of Shri Shastri's notable convictions. He valued a civil servant's practical experience and knowledge of details. But he believed that persons with experience of public affairs had something to contribute which was even more valuable, and it was his constant endeavour in all administrative matters to combine experience from both sources.

Shri Shastri thought well of the work done by the public services since Independence. But he was a discriminating judge of their performance. In one of his public statements he observed that the public services had played an important role "in producing stability in the country", but that the administration was still lacking in human touch and in understanding the difficulties and needs of the common people He further said, "We have to develop a clean, efficient, versatile, sensitive and responsive administration. Above all, it is to be an administration in which the people will have faith and confidence". He put the same idea in somewhat different words while emphasising the importance of efficient functioning of district administration with which the people constantly come in intimate contact. "The administrator", he said, "must have a human and sympathetic approach .... people in India for some years to come will not easily take a 'no' unless you try to convince them or at least talk to them for some time". He recognised that every request could not be granted, or every demand met. But he insisted that even when a request was being turned down, it should be done in such a way that the citizen could see that the public servant had respect for his feelings and wishes, and would have been happy to help he could. This to Shastriji was not merely a matter of good manners or form. It was a matter requiring genuine humility of spirit and respect for the feelings of others. To quote his own words: "The administrator may be among the most enlightened men locally, but even if he is conscious of that it should not make him feel superior or act superior."

With his identification with the common people Shri Shastri had great faith in the future of panchayati institutions, and by temperament and conviction he disliked any kind of authoritarianism. But he knew Indian society as it is, and was singularly free from sentimentality or any tendency to idealise traditional institutions. He did not think that the stage had been reached when the District Collector could just wither away. On the contrary, he felt that the Collector should be given sufficient prestige and authority to make him the real coordinator of governmental activity in the district. He thought that while there might be adequate coordination on paper, it was not reflected in the field. This is how he expressed himself on coordination: "We see the results on paper and come to judgments on the basis of the reports we get. Coordination may have to be done in the Secretariat but it is much better that some of us sit down in the village and work out the scheme of coordination after actually finding out the difficulties of the people, of the cultivator, of the farmer...... ....."

It is well known that Shri Shastri would reason and persuade rather than order. He always sought for a consensus before acting, and even if he disagreed profoundly he would not express his disagreement sharply. Those who worked with him knew that while with other people silence meant consent, with Shastriji it meant dissent. But it was a dissent from which he could not be moved. This was his style of functioning. Once his mind was made up, he would go on working, gently but with persistence and determination until he brought people round to accepting his views. The decision to create new All India Services provides an excellent example For more than a decade, repeated attempts had been made to create such services in the field of engineering, health, forestry, agriculture and education, but they had always failed. While he was Home Minister, Shastriji came to the conclusion that creation of these services was essential as a means of promoting national integration and raising the level of efficiency and he strove successfully to bring the State Governments round to his view.

Shri Shastri's identification with the common people and in particular, those in the rural areas is well known. It is not equally well known that he was convinced that India must make the fullest use of modern science and technology if it was to achieve economic progress, and that the administration needed, in addition to human feeling and integrity, extensive modernisation. When after the Chinese aggression in 1962 a decision was taken at the level of permanent officials that for the duration of the emergency deputation of civil servants for studies and training abroad should be stopped, Shastriji intervened promptly to have the decision reversed. He did not want Indian

administration to be cut off, even for a short period, from the current of thought in developed countries.

It was only for a brief period — about two and a half years as Home Minister and one and a half years as Prime Minister—that Shastriji was in a position to exercise influence on the country's administration. He passed away before he could translate many of his ideas into action. But some of the measures he initiated were seminal and will continue to bear fruit for years to come.

— *EDITOR*



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REGIONS FOR PLANNING

V. Nath

THE region is a conceptual tool for understanding the diversity in space and for organizing space for particular purposes. Every science has its regional scheme based on distribution of the phenomena in which it is interested. Thus in medical science there are regions showing distribution of cholera, malaria and other diseases. Frequently, regions are based on distribution of a group of related phenomena. Climatic regions are an example. The concept of regions based on multiple related phenomena is found to be particularly useful in sciences such as geography, economics and sociology. Geographers distinguish regions based on distribution of the physical phenomena—geological structure, topography, climate, hydrology, soils and natural vegetation—or regions based on distribution of these phenomena and human phenomena such as agricultural land-use, population density and the settlement pattern. Sociologists and cultural anthropologists distinguish cultural regions based on distribution of various cultural phenomena. All such regions are demarcated on the basis of internal homogeneity and external contrast; the areas included within them have certain common characteristics which set them off from areas outside. The economists also distinguish regions on the basis of homogeneity in economic characteristics. Industrial regions are an example. But the concept of economic regions based on the principle of inter-relationship is also used in economics. An economic area has been defined by Losch as the market area of a commodity, and an economic region as a system of such market areas.[1] Such an economic region may include areas with widely divergent economic characteristics. Typically, it will include an industrial producing centre and a consumption area which may be largely rural. The two are considered as forming part of an economic region because of their economic relationship.

Both these principles, homogeneity and inter-relationship, have their utility in demarcating regions for planning.

[1] August Losch, *The Nature of Economic Regions*, and J. Friedmann, and W. Alonso: *Regional Development and Planning: A Reader*, Cambridge, The M.I.T. Press, Mass., 1964, p. 115.

PLANNING REGIONS

Planning regions have to serve as the spatial units for formulation and implementation of development plans. They must, therefore, be demarcated, keeping in view the objectives of planned development and the nature of the principal development programmes. Secondly, since institutional and administrative arrangements for plan formulation and execution will have to be made with these regions as the units, they must be related to the existing politico-administrative structure of the country, its territorial divisions. Since most planning is done by government (or by agencies established by government), it is most convenient to adopt the territorial divisions or administrative regions as the planning regions. Planning and development agencies can be established for these regions simply by expanding the existing departments or adding new ones. Secondly, arrangements for association of the people's representatives with the planning process can also be made most conveniently with them as units, because legislatures, local bodies and other democratic institutions are already established for them. Other planning regions have undoubtedly to be adopted for particular purposes. But the need for them must be clearly established, because their acceptance involves supplementing or replacing the administrative regions.

Planning in India is the concurrent responsibility of the Central and the State Governments. It is being done with the States (and Union Territories) as the primary units. Below the State level the principal units of administration and planning are the district, the block and the village. Administrative and institutional arrangements exist at these units for formulation and execution of plans, and for association of popular leaders with planning. These administrative regions are in fact the principal planning regions of the country. However, they are not adequate for all planning purposes and have to be supplemented by other regions for some purposes of planning, and may even have to be replaced for other purposes. Thus, for development of water resources it is convenient to adopt a river valley or a river system as the region; in metropolitan planning it is necessary to plan with the metropolitan area of the city as the unit. Similarly, for planning of transport or development of power resources, regions may have to be specially delineated keeping in view the particular requirements of the planning task Secondly, even when administrative units are adopted as the planning regions, it is useful for the planners to be aware of similarities, contrasts or economic relationships between areas situated in different administrative units. Thus, the Himalayan areas of U P, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir have

certain common physical features of topography, climate and soils and common patterns of resource use and economic activity. In all these hilly areas arable land is limited, specialized forms of agriculture (*e.g.*, horticulture), and grazing and exploitation of forest resources are important economic activities. Population is sparse, water supply and communications are difficult problems, and there is urgent need for programmes of conservation of soil and water. These common features, problems and needs have to be kept in view and arrangements for co-operation in plan formulation or implementation have to be devised between the States and Union Territories concerned. A regional scheme which expresses the common links between these areas is, therefore, useful for planners.

The planning tasks in India can be divided into the following four categories:

(*i*) agricultural and related development programmes—land reclamation, soil conservation, irrigation, animal husbandry, forestry and fisheries;

(*ii*) development of industries, power, transport and communications;

(*iii*) development of social services—education, medical care, social welfare etc; and

(*iv*) urban development.

The classification follows broadly the sectoral classification in the Five Year Plans. Urban development has been added. It is not a separate sector of development but it has been listed here because urbanization affects the economy in such a variety of ways and urban development is a task of such importance that it was felt that it should be listed separately in order to focus attention on it

In agricultural and related development programmes, primary emphasis is on scientific and more intensive exploitation of the resources of land and water. This has to be done by changing present production techniques and by undertaking various resource development programmes. Since regional variations in the methods of resource use and the resource development economy—patterns of agricultural land use and cropping, development of livestock husbandry, forestry or fishing—are related primarily to the physical factors, regional schemes based on analysis of the physical factors and associated human factors of agricultural land use and rural settlement, furnish the basic mosaic for planning the development programmes. Such schemes bring out the

contrasts within the country and within individual States which are most significant for planning purposes. Further, they bring out for each region (and its smaller divisions) the basic physical and human factors, and the potential and limitations of the physical environment. The scheme of "Regions for Resource Planning" developed by the Regional Planning Unit of the Indian Statistical Institute[2] and the scheme of Resource Development Regions and Divisions recently published by the Planning Commission[3] are both schemes of this type. The latter is described in Part II.

Such schemes are useful also for planning of social service programmes, especially in the rural areas, because planning of these programmes has to be related primarily to the rural settlement pattern. They are useful to a limited extent for planning of industrial, power, transport and associated development programmes. They furnish the basic facts on location of mineral and power resources, and agricultural raw-materials, and of distribution of population which have to be taken into account in planning of these programmes Thus, the scheme of Resource Development Regions and Divisions published by the Planning Commission distinguishes the Eastern Plateaux and Hills Region. This region, consisting of the plateau areas of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Eastern Madhya Pradesh and two districts of the Maharashtra, has been demarcated primarily on basis of geological and topographic factors. But by distinguishing it the highly mineralized areas which contain most of the coal, iron ore, manganese and other mineral resources of the country, have been separated from the adjoining areas of the Gangetic Plain or of the Deccan which are poor in minerals. Visualizing this mineral-rich area as one region is very useful in planning of industrial, power and transport programmes. However, it appears that regional schemes based on the principle of homogeneity are not adequate for planning of such programmes and that schemes based on the principle of inter-relationship have to be used. The latter are useful because they indicate how regions are related with one another and with the national economy and the potential or limitations for development which these relationships hold. Thus for any region the scheme of Resource Development Regions and Divisions would indicate only its agricultural, mineral, forest and other resources, but it would not indicate the potential or limitations for development which its location with reference to other regions creates. Consider the South Bihar Plain area (consisting of the districts of Shahabad, Patna, Gaya,

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[2] Unpublished.

[3] Government of India, *Resource Development Regions and Divisions of India*, New Delhi, Planning Commission, 1964.

Monghyr and Bhagalpur) as an example It has a very large population in relation to its agricultural land, has few mineral resources and would appear to have a limited potential for industrial and urban development. But its location next to the coal and steel centres of Bihar and West Bengal and athwart the principal transport routes of Northern India hold for it enormous possibilities of industrial and urban growth.

As an illustration of schemes based on the principle of inter-relationship, a scheme of metropolitan regions has been described in Part II. The scheme distinguishes four metropolitan regions, which are the hinterlands respectively of the metropolitan cities of calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Delhi. The scheme is based on the concept of central places;[4] each metropolitan city is regarded as an apex central place, which is linked through a system of secondary and lower order central places to every part of its hinterland.

Accordingly, we consider in Part II three sets of regions:

(*i*) Administrative Regions,

(*ii*) Resource Development Regions, and

(*iii*) Metropolitan Regions.

ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS

States (and Union Territories), districts, blocks, and villages constitute the different units in the structure of administrative regions. The planning process in India provides for formulation of plans with them as units and inter-relation of plans of different units. The plan of each State is drawn up within the framework of the goals, investment magnitudes and physical achievement targets of the national plan: but it reflects in its details—the financial and physical magnitudes of different sectors and the particular projects included in it—the development potential of the State and the needs and aspirations of its people The plans of districts are related similarly to the plan of the State, and of smaller units to the plan of the district. Such inter-relationship between plans of different units is an essential aspect of the national planning process. It enables plans to reflect national goals and objectives

[4] For a discussion of the hierarchical order of Central places, *see* W. Isard, *Methods of Regional Analysis*, Cambridge, M I.T. Press, 1960, pp. 222-7

on the one hand and local-needs and aspirations on the other. Institutional arrangements have been established at various area levels for participation of the people's representatives in the planning process. The national and State legislators frame the policies for planning; the local leaders participate in detailed planning and implementation of programmes for their areas. The responsibilities of the local leaders in planning have increased, and much greater attention has begun to be given to local planning after the establishment of the Panchayati Raj institutions. The district plan particularly is being given increasing attention, because it is felt that the area of the district is sufficiently large for formulation of an integrated development plan and officials and non-officials of sufficient calibre and experience are available for preparation of the plan. If the present trends continue the district will in time emerge as a distinct unit of planning in addition to the nation and the State.

The administrative regions have some characteristics which enhance their claims to being accepted as planning regions. Most States of the Indian Union are quite large in size so that adequate planning organizations can be built up for them. Secondly, the areas of most States are co-terminous with the linguistic regions of the country and their people have a certain sense of linguistic-cultural unity. The importance of linguistic regions as basic planning regions can scarcely be overemphasized in a large, multilingual country. The districts similarly are of sufficient size to be adopted as primary units of local planning. The population of most districts ranges between one and two million and their area ranges between two and five thousand square miles. Secondly, since the boundaries of most districts follow natural features such as rivers or hill ranges and have remained unchanged for long periods, and the district headquarters town is the principal administrative, commercial and educational centre of the area, there is among their people a well-developed feeling of "belonging to the district". There are of course districts which are quite unsuitable for local planning because they are too large or too small or contain areas of sharply contrasted physical and economic characteristics.[5] But the number of such districts is small.

Among the administrative units below the district level, the community development block is the most important for purposes of planning because the institutional and administrative structure of planning

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[5] Some districts of Bihar and Madras with population of three to four million are recognized as being too large for efficient local planning. The Madras districts have been bifurcated for purposes of planning, and a similar bifurcation of the Bihar districts will be useful. On the other hand many of the districts of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh are very small.

and development—the Panchayat Samiti and the community development organization—have been built up round it. A typical block consists of about 100 villages with a population of 50,000 to 100,000 but there are variations in different areas. Below the block level, the traditional unit of rural community life, the village, has also a certain importance in planning. The aspirations and needs of the rural people are articulated first through the village Panchayat and agricultural and rural development programmes must be formulated in the first instance with the village as the unit.

Supplement to Administrative Regions

(*i*) *Special Areas* : This structure of administrative regions is used mainly for planning of agricultural and related development programmes, social service programmes and others which are the responsibility of the State Governments. It is useful for planning of these programmes because it enables planners to relate programmes for successively smaller areas to local conditions and the needs and aspirations of the local people. But it has to be supplemented in various ways in order to meet planning needs for which it is found to be inadequate. One set of supplements consists of areas of special problems or promise for which special development programmes have to be undertaken and special administrative or institutional arrangements have to be established Metropolitan areas of cities, industrial complexes, areas of river valley projects or other resource development projects, and backward areas are the most important among such special areas. In each case the boundaries have to be demarcated keeping in view the particular objects of planning and development. They have to be defined precisely in some cases but not in others. The boundaries of "metropolitan areas" have to be defined with precision because they have to be given the force of law. Control over urban land use which is an essential element in metropolitan planning cannot be enforced without legal sanctions. The boundaries of areas of irrigation and other resource development projects may also have to be defined precisely, because the areas which will receive irrigation or other benefits and those which will not receive such benefits have to be clearly distinguished On the other hand, boundaries of backward areas need not be defined so precisely. The boundaries of special areas may change relatively quickly. The metropolitan area of a city may have to be enlarged from time to time as the city expands. The areas of irrigation projects may also be enlarged as the scope of the projects is enlarged On the other hand, backward areas may be reduced progressively in size as backwardness is liquidated.

(*ii*) *Zones, Macro-regions and Commissioners' Divisions*: Another set of supplements to administrative regions consists of groups of States and districts and are useful for planning at inter-State and inter-district levels. Inter-State action is required for water resource development, power generation and distribution, and various other development programmes. There is considerable experience of inter-State co-operation for water resource development in India; the river valley projects undertaken during the last 15 years are outstanding recent examples of such co-operation. But as each case requires agreement among the States concerned, adequate institutional arrangements are essential for securing inter-State co-operation. The need for inter-State action in power generation and distribution has also begun to be recognized increasingly. The power systems of most adjoining States are already inter-linked. Formation of regional power grids has been under consideration for some time: the grids are visualized as the first step in the establishment (eventually) of a national power grid.

Since the re-organization of the States in 1956, an institutional arrangement for inter-State action has existed in the Zonal Councils. These Councils have been constituted for the five Zones—Northern, Central, Eastern, Southern and Western—into which the country is divided. Each Zone consists of two or more States and adjoining Union Territories. The agency of the Zonal Councils could be used for planning and co-ordinated execution of programmes of development of inter-State interest more effectively than has been done so far.

Zones also provide a useful conceptual framework for macro-regional divisions of the country: most macro-regional divisions are variations on the Zonal scheme.[6] Macro-regions are useful for planning of various activities of the Central government and for regional economic and social analysis. They can be very useful in planning flows of basic commodities—coal, iron and steel, cement,

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[6] One such scheme is that used by the Energy Survey Committee (Government of India: Report of the Energy Survey of India Committee, New Delhi, 1965, p. 85.) which divides the country into the following six energy regions:

(*i*) Northern: Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi, Rajasthan and Jammu and Kashmir.

(*ii*) Central: U.P. and Madhya Pradesh.

(*iii*) Eastern: Bihar, West Bengal and Orissa.

(*iv*) Assam: Assam, Tripura and Manipur.

(*v*) Southern: Andhra Pradesh, Mysore, Madras and Kerala.

(*vi*) Western: Maharashtra and Gujarat.

The only unsatisfactory feature of the scheme is inclusion of U.P. and Madhya Pradesh in one region. There are marked physical and socio-economic differences between the two States which are marked by their inclusion in one region. Each State is large enough to constitute a region by itself.

petroleum products, chemical fertilizers, foodgrains and agricultural raw materials—and deciding locations of industrial units keeping the flow patterns in view. This concept has been best developed in U.S.S.R., which has been divided into a number of "major economic regions" each based on one or more major industrial complexes. However the related Soviet concept of self-sufficiency at major economic region level, very attractive in a country with long distances, sparse population and relatively under-developed transport, has distinct limitations in India. As the bulk of the coal and iron ore deposits of India are located in Eastern India, this region must remain the premier iron and steel producing region of the country and large flows of coal, steel and heavy engineering goods from the region to other parts of the country must remain an essential feature of the Indian economy. Ignoring these facts and attempting to achieve self-sufficiency at macro-regional level could lead to a distorted and wasteful pattern of resource development. Macro-regional schemes are useful for regional economic and social analysis because they make possible presentation of data on regional differences within a large country in terms of a limited number of units. In U.S.A., the Census Divisions are used extensively for this purpose, and the practice of using macro-regions is growing in India. The National Sample Survey, the Energy Survey and various studies of the National Council of Applied Economic Research present data on regional differences within India primarily by macro-regions

In most of the larger States of India there has existed for a long time an intermediate unit between the State and the districts—the Commissioner's Division. These Divisions, consisting of 5 or 6 districts were formed for co-ordination of work in the districts; but many of them express also the most significant differences in physical and economic conditions within a State. In any case, these Divisions furnish as the Zones do at the macro-regional level, the starting point for dividing large States into a limited number of relatively homogeneous units. Distinguishing such units is useful in planning for a large State because it provides to the State and the local planners a frame of reference for comprehending the diversity within the State and for modifying the development programmes accordingly. Such modification is particularly necessary in agricultural and related programmes which have to be adapted to the physical conditions and agricultural and settlement patterns of each area.

With these two sets of supplements, the structure of administrative regions consists of: nation, macro-region or Zone, State, division, district, block and village, and the special areas. The latter cannot be

integrated into the administrative structure, because their boundaries would frequently cut across the boundaries of States and districts. But since planning arrangements for them can be made without serious disturbance to the administrative structure, they can also be considered along with the administrative regions.

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT REGIONS

The scheme of Resource Development Regions and Divisions of India published by the Planning Commission is based on analysis of data of topography, geological formations, soils, rainfall, agricultural land use, cropping pattern, population density and occurrence of mineral resources. The data have been analyzed for each district of the country. The district has been adopted as the minimum unit for classification partly because the data for most of these variables were not available for smaller units and partly in order to make the scheme more useful for planning It is considered that "the district is of such overwhelming importance as a unit for execution of most development programmes that a classification in which districts are not divided has a certain usefulness which is lost as soon as districts are divided".[7]

The scheme recognizes five primary or major natural regions of the country: the Himalayas, the Northern Plain, the Peninsular Plateaux and Hills, the East Coast Plain, and the West Coast Plain. Each of these is divided into one or more regions to make a total of 14 regions on the mainland of India. The fifteenth region is formed by the Islands in the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. The regions are divided further into sub-regions, divisions and sub-divisions. But the important units below the regions are the divisions; sub-regions and sub-divisions are units of secondary importance and have been distinguished in a very few cases Only one region, the Eastern Himalayan, has been divided into sub-regions and only five divisions have been divided into sub-divisions. The scheme distinguishes 61 divisions, each of which is located entirely within the territory of a State. The divisions are formed by intersection of boundaries of the regions and the States or by further division of the area of a region located within a State. Each division is a unit, homogeneous in physical and socio-economic characteristics, and located entirely within the territory of one State which can be adopted as a planning unit by the State Government. The objects of the scheme are:

"(*i*) to provide a framework for understanding the variety of physical conditions and resource development potentials in

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[7] Planning Commission, *Resource Development Regions and Division of India*, *op cit.*, p 3.

different parts of the country to those concerned with planning at the Centre and in the States, so that these differences are given due consideration in planning of programmes, and adjustments in programme content and pattern are made to meet these, wherever necessary; and

(*ii*) to furnish to those concerned with planning at the State level, a scheme of division of their States into internally homogeneous units, each of which can be used as a unit for planning of most of the programmes included in State Plans."[8]

The reference to State planning will be readily understood because agricultural and related development programmes for which the scheme is particularly useful are the responsibility primarily of the State Governments. Since the resource development division consists of a group of districts, it can be easily integrated into the structure of State planning. It can serve as an intermediate unit between the State and the districts and is in fact a better unit than the Commissioner's because it is demarcated scientifically. Its principal usefulness is in relating development programmes more closely to the different physical and socio-economic conditions of different parts of a State *Such relation is particularly important in large States such as U P , Maharashtra, and Madhya Pradesh within which there is such diversity of physical and socio-economic conditions.* The content of the plan of each sector can be decided first at the resource development division level and district plans can then be made within the framework of these decisions. The scheme also enables planners to keep in view the similarities between areas located in adjacent States. The example of the Eastern Plateaux and Hills Region and of the Himalayan Region of U.P , Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir, given above, illustrate this point

METROPOLITAN REGIONS

In this scheme the country is divided into four metropolitan regions —the hinterlands respectively of the metropolitan cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Delhi. Each hinterland is a macro-region consisting of two or more States together with Union Territories or parts of States. It can be divided further into sub-regions, divisions and smaller units going down to the service area of the small town (or large village) with population between 5,000 and 10,000, which performs various commercial and other service functions for a group of villages

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[8] Planning Commission, *Resource Development Regions and Divisions of India, op cit.*, p 2.

Towns of different sizes located in a metropolitan region are considered to be central places of different orders; the metropolitan city is considered to be the apex central place of the region.

The areas included within a metropolitan region are dissimilar in physical features, land use and cropping pattern, population density and various other characteristics. The metropolitan region of Delhi includes the Himalayan areas of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh, the Punjab plain as well as the desert of Western Rajasthan. The region of Calcutta includes areas as dissimilar as NEFA and North Bihar. But all parts of a metropolitan region are bound together by the bonds of functional relations with the metropolitan city. The relations are primarily commercial—distribution of goods is the principal element in them,—but they are also cultural and administrative. Three of the metropolitan cities are ports but the fourth, Delhi, is an inland city. The external trade functions which the port cities perform for their metropolitan regions are shared in case of the Delhi region between Calcutta and Bombay. But the concept of the metropolitan region does not involve as a necessary condition that the metropolitan city be a port or that it be the only port in the region. It only involves that the metropolitan city be so important as a commercial, administrative and social service centre that it can be recognized as the apex centre of the region. Each of the four cities has this position in its metropolitan region. The cities are connected with every part of the hinterland through a succession of smaller towns—sub-regional centres, district towns, mandi centres, etc. These are Central places of different orders, each of which is connected upwards with higher order Central places and downwards with lower order places; it is also connected with its own particular hinterland (service area) for the specific services that it performs for it. In this way, a whole system of functional relationships—economic, socio-cultural, administrative—focusses eventually on the sub-regional and the metropolitan cities, and the influences amenating from these cities travel to every part of the hinterland.

Formulating such a scheme of metropolitan regions has many limitations at present. First, because of virtual lack of data on economic relationships between the metropolitan cities and their hinterlands, the regions cannot be demarcated precisely. Studies on demarcation of the hinterland have been carried out most extensively for Calcutta[9] and the boundaries of the Calcutta region can be drawn somewhat more

[9] See for instance, Lastie Grean: *The Economic Hinterland of Calcutta,* to be published by Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

precisely than those of the other regions. The regional transport surveys now being conducted under the auspices of the Planning Commission are expected to make available considerable data which will make possible more precise demarcation of the other three hinterlands Similarly, studies on the economic relationships between cities and towns of different sizes within a metropolitan region and between them and their service areas, needed for dividing the metropolitan regions into sub-regions, divisions and smaller units, are virtually lacking. In Appendix I, central places of six classes have been listed, which implies that it should be possible to have a size hierarchy of six units, going down from the metropolitan region to the service area of the very small town or large village which functions as rural service centre. But this classification is only illustrative and will need to be verified by studies in the different metropolitan regions. It is most likely that central places of all the six categories are not fully developed in every region. However, the hierarchical order provides the framework for seeing the cities and towns of different sizes as linked parts of a spatial system

As important as the paucity of data is the fact that the city-region relationship is not as well developed in India as it is in industrially advanced countries. Since the bulk of the population is rural, depends upon subsistence agriculture and has limited extra-village economic relationships, the influence of the metropolitan city, or of any urban area for that matter, is quite weak. But this influence is increasing as means of communication improve and modern social services and consumer goods are used by the rural people to an increasing extent One visible result of this increase, is use by large commercial firms of the four metropolitan cities as focal points for distribution of products within the regions Various agencies of government, and such institutions as the Life Insurance Corporation are also using these cities as regional headquarters for their activities. The smaller cities are similarly beginning to be used increasingly as focal points for distribution of products or radiation of various activities, within their respective influence areas.

The metropolitan regions may be roughly indicated as follows :

(1) The Calcutta Metropolitan Region—Assam, Nagaland and the Union Territories in North East India; West Bengal, Bihar, Eastern U.P., and Eastern Madhya Pradesh, except the extreme Southern portion.

(2) The Madras Metropolitan Region—Madras, Kerala, most of Mysore and most of Andhra Pradesh.

(3) The Bombay Metropolitan Region—Maharashtra, Gujarat, Southern Madhya Pradesh.

(4) The Delhi Metropolitan Region—Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, most of Rajasthan, Western U.P., and Northern Madhya Pradesh.

Transition Zones or Corridors: It is useful to distinguish transition zones or corridors between the metropolitan regions. These are areas in which the influence of two metropolitan cities overlaps, *i.e.*, the advantages of obtaining services from the two cities are nearly competitive and the local people have a choice of obtaining services from one or the other city. The choices are exercised in favour of different cities at different times or for different commodities. Central U.P. is such a transitional zone between the metropolitan regions of Delhi and Calcutta. The transition zones are roughly indicated below, they can also be indicated more precisely when more detailed data become available:

(1) Between the Calcutta and the Madras Regions—extreme South Eastern Madhya Pradesh and North Eastern Andhra Pradesh (the hinterland of Visakhapatnam).

(2) Between the Madras and the Bombay Regions—the Northern fringe of Mysore.

(3) Between the Bombay and the Delhi Region—Southern Rajasthan, and Central Madhya Pradesh.

(4) Between the Delhi and the Calcutta Regions—Central U.P.

The transition zones will be seen on an all-India map as arc-shaped belts of varying widths. Their northern apex is in Central U.P. in the vicinity of Allahabad. From this point they go southwards dividing in Central Madhya Pradesh into three arcs going North-West, South-West and South-East respectively.

The metropolitan regions are units of the same size order as the macro-regions. In some cases they are very close to the zones or other commonly used macro-regions. The Madras Metropolitan Region is co-terminous with the South India Region of many macro-regional schemes. The Bombay Metropolitan Region differs only slightly from the Western India Region of macro-regional schemes—it includes Souther Madhya Pradesh. The metropolitan regions based as they

are on the economic fact of exchange of goods and services are even more useful than the macro-regions for planning, production and distribution of basic commodities. They are useful also for planning of power, transport and similar programmes. In fact they appear to be the most useful macro-units for working out the regional implications of the long-term perspective of development. The national projections of population, its distribution between urban and rural areas and among various economic activities, of supply and demand of basic commodities and of requirements of power and transport can most conveniently be broken down in terms of the metropolitan regions. Programmes for attaining the targets of development can then be formulated with each metropolitan region as the unit. It appears also that inter-State relationships for purposes of resource development are also visualized most fruitfully in terms of metropolitan regions.

But the metropolitan regions have their greatest utility in urban planning which will have to move in the not distant future from planning for cities to planning of entire hinterlands as units. The need for adopting in case of the large cities, a sufficiently large "metropolitan area" as the unit of detailed land use planning, and a still larger "peripheral region" as the unit of less detailed, directional planning has, already been recognized. The "metropolitan area" concept, first used in the Delhi Plan, is now being used in the plans of all major cities of India. The Delhi Plan also visualized planning for its peripheral region which is now being called the National Capital Region. This is an area of about 400 square miles located in U.P. and Punjab. In case of Calcutta, the CMPO has demarcated outside the Calcutta metropolitan district a Southern Plain Region, as the unit for less detailed, directional planning. The Maharashtra planners are already thinking in terms of planning with the Bombay-Poona Region as the Unit. In Gujarat, the entire strip between Ahmedabad and Surat, which is experiencing rapid urban industrial growth, may be adopted as a planning unit. The process has to be carried further and entire hinterlands of metropolitan cities have to be viewed as planning regions. For each such region, the likely growth of the urban population can be forecast within the national perspective of economic development. This total can then be distributed in towns of different sizes located in different parts of the region. The location and size of some towns will, no doubt, be determined by such factors as distribution of natural resources, and topographic conditions. Thus, the steel and heavy engineering centres of the Calcutta metropolitan region will be located mainly near the coal fields or iron ore deposits. But location and size of most [illegible] towns in a metropolitan region can be planned in accordance [illegible] -pted policies of dispersal of

economic activity and balanced regional development. Growth of local, district and multi-district centres can be planned in the perspective of the expected growth in the economy of their service areas. In fact, each such town can be built up as a focal point of modernization of agriculture and of the rural economy, which provides a constellation of services, ranging from distribution of supplies required for modern agriculture (chemical fertilizers, steel, petroleum products, power-driven implements) to facilities of modern education, medical care and recreation. The relations between these towns and their service areas can be improved through improvement of means of transport and communications. The more suitable among them can be developed as local growth points by establishment of various agro-industries and other industries. Some towns can be planned deliberately as growth points to stimulate the economy of stagnant regions or to serve as counter-magnets which will relieve the pressure on large cities. As one city or area approaches saturation point, growth can be transferred to other cities or areas within the metropolitan region.

Urban planning of this kind, with metropolitan hinterlands as units, is an essential counterpart of perspective economic planning. The metropolitan regions furnish the most useful conceptual framework for such planning, because the different cities and towns within each region can be viewed as inter-linked and mutually inter-acting parts of a spatial system.

APPENDIX I

HIERARCHY OF CENTRAL PLACES IN A METROPOLITAN REGION

1. Metropolitan city.

2. Sub-regional centre—the principal town and service centre of the sub-region.

3. Multi-district centre—principal town and service centre of a group of districts. Some of these towns are also headquarters of Commissioners' Divisions.

4. District centre—the principal town and service centre for the whole or a major part of the district Most of these towns are also district headquarters.

5. Mandi centre—town with an established permanent market (not weekly *hat*) serving an area approximating a community development block or a taluk. It may also be the headquarters of the block or taluk

6. Rural service centre—small town or large village functioning as a service centre for a group of villages.



CO-ORDINATION AND COMMUNICATION IN AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Donald C. Pelz

THE Ram Subhag Singh Committee on Co-ordination of Agricultural Production, in its report of October 1963, demonstrated the concern felt at highest government levels on the subject of co-ordination. The current food crisis underscores its relevance. Because of this concern, and because few research studies on co-ordination appear to have been done,[1] a pilot survey on this topic was undertaken during March to May of 1965 in one district each of Rajasthan, Punjab and U.P., including one Package Programme district, during an eight-week course on survey research methods [2]

Within each district a representative probability sample of three blocks was chosen by a "stratified random" method,[3] and one village per district was added. An exploratory and a structured interview were held with specified officials and non-officials at district, block, and village levels concerned with agricultural development. A small sample of cultivators was also interviewed

While one should not generalize beyond the selected districts, within these the sample of functionaries at district and block levels was sound although small (84 officials and 32 non-officials). Certain trends were illuminating, and are summarized here.[4]

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[1] A study on co-ordination in agricultural programmes was completed in December 1965 by the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission.

[2] For a discussion of principles and applications of survey methodology, *see* the author's article "Survey Research in Public Administration"; *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. X, No. 4, Oct.-Dec 1964, pages 608-624.

[3] Under sound survey procedures a certain population is explicitly defined in advance—either of social units like blocks and villages, or of individuals, or both Either all members of this population are contacted, or a representative sample of them. Judgment may be used to divide the population into distinctive sub-types or strata, but the final selection of sample elements within each stratum is strictly by lottery or random numbers, to avoid any possibility of bias

[4] Details are given in the author's report, "Coordination, Communication, and Initiative in Agricultural Development: a Pilot Survey", Indian Institute of Public Administration, January 1966 (cyclostyled). The pilot study was part of a long-range programme to develop survey research facilities to study development administration in India, under contract between the US Agency for International Development and the University of Michigan, where the author serves as a Programme Director in the Survey Research Centre A broader follow-up survey on the same topic has been conducted in a representative sample of nine districts and 27 blocks in the same States, with 926 respondents; these data are now being analyzed

Assisting in the pilot survey were 22 course participants who planned and carried out the successive steps The author is grateful to these persons, to the IIPA, to collaborating departments of public administration at Rajasthan, Punjab, and Lucknow Universities, and to Development Departments of the corresponding States, for their assistance.

Where Co-ordination was Strong or Weak

The concept of co-ordination assumes some network of functionaries (either individuals or departments or other units) who perform a series of inter-related activities, the effect of which is to accomplish some end result (such as growing more food).

In such a network, we say that co-ordination is good if each person performs his activities in the right way and at the right time so that other persons in turn can perform their own activity, and the end result can be accomplished. We say that co-ordination is poor if some person fails to perform his activities in the right way or at the right time, and thus hinders the activities of other persons and achievement of the target.

One objective of the pilot survey was to ascertain *where* in such a system certain functionaries were co-ordinating well or poorly with other functionaries.

According to the pilot survey results, the Development and Agriculture Departments in the selected districts and blocks stood high, as we might expect, and the Co-operative Department scored fair, while one of the weakest links in carrying out agricultural programmes was the Revenue Department. If the farmer seeks a taccavi loan for fertilizer or other inputs, the village Revenue official (Patwari/Lekhpal) must verify his holdings and previous indebtedness. This department was said to show the poorest co-ordination in several respects.

Respondents were first interviewed with an exploratory schedule asking broad or unstructured questions. Among ten agricultural programmes spontaneously mentioned in these interviews, three were strongly criticized: loans, major irrigation, and electricity (which is essential for minor-irrigation). Shortcomings in these programmes were mentioned four or five times more often than achievements. In contrast, distribution of seed (either ordinary or improved) and of fertilizer were moderately successful; good examples here were more numerous than poor.

After a three-week interval another interview was held with the same persons, this time asking more structured questions about specific departments.[1] From these replies it was clear that best support of

[1] The same method was used ... personal interviews with each selected respondent, using a carefully [illegible] ... asking either unstructured ("open ended") or structured (brief alternative [illegible]) ... answers to the former are [illegible] ...

development goals was seen to come from the Agriculture Department (69 per cent of members of this and Development Departments said that the two departments were "working toward the same goals"). At a lower level stood the Co-operative Department (50 per cent of members of both departments saw common goals), the Minor Irrigation[6] (40 per cent common goals). Revenue Department stood lowest (only 20 per cent common goals).

A widespread problem was delay. Even in regard to Planning/Development department, only one-third (35 per cent) of the officials and non-officials found this department "mostly prompt". Agriculture and Co-operatives Department stood lower (30 per cent) and 24 per cent respectively), while a very small fraction saw Minor Irrigation and Revenue as prompt (7 and 5 per cent respectively).

The structured questionnaire also asked about co-ordination among specified pairs of functionaries. Officials within Development and Agriculture Departments—District Planning Officers, BDOs, VLWs, and Agricultural Extension Officers—were seen to co-ordinate well with each other (70 to 54 per cent of respondents said they "fitted well together", in provision and use of fertilizers). Lower co-ordination was reported between BDO and District Registrar of Co-operative Societies. and Co-operative Supervisors and farmers (30 per cent of respondents said that these fitted together well). Poorest co-ordination was between Patwari/Lekhpal and farmers (only 9 per cent of respondents were satisfied). Again the Revenue Department stood lowest.

Typical Quotations

While conclusions from the survey are based mainly on such statistical trends, it is also helpful to examine quotations.[7] These must be treated cautiously. They represent only one party to a situation; for the full truth one should study the views of all parties Nevertheless they help to illuminate the quantitative data. Regarding the Revenue Department, for example, a block official observed:

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standardized rules Either method allows the answers of different respondents to be combined and compared by statistical techniques Conclusions are reached not merely by impression or intuition but by objective steps, in order to build evidence which is scientifically sound—that is to say, which might be repeated by someone following the identical procedures

[6] Usually not a separate department; officials in several departments had some responsibility for minor irrigation.

[7] Identity of the respondents was of course carefully protected. No names appeared on the interview reports, and these were seen only by the project staff.

> "There are many difficulties in getting the taccavi loan. Firstly, the very application is difficult for cultivators to fill in. They are mostly illiterate and do not know anything about the information asked in the application. Then the application has to be certified by the (Patwari/Lekhpal) about the land under one's possession for cultivation, as the amount of taccavi loan for purposes of fertilizers is sanctioned on the size of the land holding. Generally this person is not available, and even if he is available the certificate is not easily got without pleasing him with cash or kind."

Few spontaneous mentions of electricity programmes were made, but these were all negative. An elected representative complained of failure of the Electricity Department to communicate with the public:

> "We've been pressing the Electric Department to give out their programme to the people, but they have been hesitating I think they feared there would be some check on their work... There are always so many excuses for delays.. .At each quarter they should give out their programme for the next quarter Then if they have to change it, if there is some shortage, they can say so."

As an example of delay in minor irrigation, this report from a block official may be cited:

> "We are authorized to purchase (on credit) seeds and pumping sets and supply them to the farmers. So I ordered the supply of one pumping set It was duly delivered to the actual user The bill was forwarded to the district technical officer several months ago. All the documents and quotations are in order I waited for two months but payment was not made So I approached the district officer personally last month But in vain. The payment is yet to be made "

Specific Difficulties and Suggestions

In both the exploratory and the structured interviews, respondents were asked to describe specific difficulties and to offer suggestions for improvement When asked about farmers' difficulties in getting help on fertilizers, for example, nearly one-quarter of respondents (23 per cent) criticized Co-operative Societies for some form of malpractice. As an illustration, an Extension Officer remarked.

"According to rules, if the Development Department approves the crop plan of a cultivator, he is expected to get a loan from the Co-operative Society. But this does not generally happen. The loans are advanced to the supporters of the people in power"

A typical criticism against VLWs was lack of contact with cultivators (mentioned by 19 per cent), and against Revenue Department corruption (16 per cent)

A major reason for breakdown in co-ordination was said to be lack of funds and supplies, requiring corrective action at State or Central levels. Within the districts themselves, the main suggestion for improvement was greater *authority* for development or agricultural officials. To overcome difficulties with Revenue or Irrigation Departments, for example, it was suggested that more control over their local officials be assigned to the BDO. Said a block Panchayat Samiti Chairman:

"There is a world of difference between powers of the District Planning Officer and the SDM (revenue official at the Tehsil level). The latter enjoys far greater powers. It is the lack of real power of development officials which is one hindrance. Until and unless the (Patwari/Lekhpal), (Patrol/Amin) and the tube-well operator come under the direct control of the BDO, no co-ordination in the present climate of corruption is feasible."

Another suggestion was more *delegation* of authority to development officials. An arrangement in the Package Programme district was described as follows:

"We don't find any difficulty in co-ordinating the work within our department because of one major reason. The VLWs can sanction applications for fertilizer up to Rs. 150, and Extension Officer Agriculture up to Rs 500. (These loans are given in kind rather than in cash). This greater degree of confidence—decentralization of responsibility to the subordinate—leads to greater co-ordination and smoother functioning within the department."

Personal shortcomings in officials—lack of interest or motivation, for example—were an important reason for poor co-ordination (second only to lack of funds and supplies); and personal assets in officials were the major reason for good co-ordination. How can greater *interest by officials* at all levels be assured?

Several respondents urged that evaluation of individuals be linked more closely to their specific accomplishments. One such system has been operating in Punjab since mid-1964. A "score-card" has been set up for each VLW, BDO, District Agricultural Officer, etc., on which points have been allotted to specific activities. Periodically, two to four superior officers assign marks in each category. Depending on the marks earned, an official may be recommended for an advance increment, an appreciation letter, stoppage of increment, or even discharge. One BDO not in the sample district remarked: "Since this plan has been in effect, there is no more problem of shortfall."

In another sample district the job of the VLW has been divided into 150 components such as collecting a family indent for fertilizer, or laying out a demonstration of green manure. Each task is assigned a unit value, and so many units are considered a full day's work. With this checklist, the VLW and his superiors can know whether he is performing above or below average, and appropriate appreciation or discipline can be given.

Initiative

In a smoothly co-ordinated network it is not sufficient for each person in the system simply to do what he is told. To avoid breakdowns, he must use discretion in solving problems; even more he must act to foresee problems and prevent them. Such action may be called initiative, and certain questions on this topic were therefore asked.

In the second interview with the structured questionnaire, respondents rated the extent to which various functionaries "acted on their own to get things done, without being instructed by a higher authority." Not more than one-third of all the officials and non-officials were reported to "frequently act on their own". Lowest scores, as one might expect, were earned by VLWs, nearly half of whom were said "seldom or never" to take initiative.

This widespread lack of initiative was linked by some person to absence of recognition for accomplishments. A district official observed:

Unwillingness to delegate authority was also blamed by another district official: "The system of the British—we have taken it over, but it needs radical change.... The officer in charge is held responsible for everything under him. His people are not empowered to take decisions. Out of 100 decisions, one or two are bound to be wrong; you can't avoid it. But because of these one or two, the person may be fired, so the people shirk from taking decisions"

Methods of Communication, in Relation to Co-ordination and Initiative

Smooth co-ordination requires effective communication, and so specific questions about the latter were given. Respondents were asked what methods were typically used when communicating with several levels: district officials, block officials, village officials, and non-officials in block and villages

We found, surprisingly, that when district officials were communicating among themselves they used writing nearly half the time, and personal talks only one fifth of the time. One would think that at district headquarters it would be easy to make personal contacts.

This situation was considered unsatisfactory. District officials used writing and formal meetings twice as often as they thought desirable for communicating with each other, and they used informal meetings and personal talks only half as much as they preferred.[8] Why? This further inquiry was not pursued, but it would make a valuable study

Now the important question arose: which of these methods—writing, formal meetings, informal meetings, or personal contact, or which combination of these—were most effective in promoting co-ordination and stimulating initiative?

One could simply tabulate which methods the respondents *thought* most effective (and in fact such data are given in the Pilot Survey report) But we also wanted to go beyond this. An answer was sought through the following statistical analysis.

The nine blocks in the pilot study were first divided according to three major *patterns* or combinations of communication methods (based on average of methods used when communicating at several

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[8] The structured questionnaire distinguished between "formal" meetings (held regularly, with minutes kept), and "informal" meetings (not held regularly, no minutes kept).

levels). Blocks classified under Pattern I relied on writing and formal meetings more than did the other blocks. Those under Pattern II used writing and personal contacts, but hardly any formal meetings [9] The blocks under Pattern III relied heavily on personal contacts and somewhat on formal meetings, but made less use of written methods than the other blocks.[10]

Especially interesting was the result for Pattern I which relied on *writing and formal meetings* (and less on personal contacts and informal meetings). This pattern was reasonably effective for co-ordination. In these blocks, respondents reported superior teamwork for two out of four programmes (minor irrigation and improved implements). Co-ordination was especially good for VLWs, farmers, and Pradhans of block Panchayat Samitis. To reach the lower administrative levels, and persons outside of the administrative machinery, it appeared that writing was helpful. Written instructions can reach a host of scattered individuals in a short time.

However, Pattern I was least effective for initiative. Out of ratings for six officials and non-officials, these blocks had the lowest initiative scores on five. The deficient ingredient in Pattern I was personal contact. Impersonal methods like writing and large meetings, it seems, can ensure that everyone knows what to do But impersonal methods are not likely to encourage individuals to act on their own judgment

Good co-ordination and the best initiative occurred under Pattern III, which relied heavily on *personal contacts and formal meetings*, with little writing In these blocks respondents reported superior co-ordination for two programmes (fertilizer distribution and improved seed), and for four pairs of officials out of six. Higher initiative scores were given to officials at all levels and to Pradhans.

The use of large meetings under Pattern III apparently insured effective teamwork, while personal contacts encouraged self-reliance Perhaps the latter contacts assured the individual that he was not an anonymous cog in a machine. If he made mistakes, other people who knew him would understand the reason. If he succeeded, other people would appreciate it In such a climate initiative could flourish

[9] Few people reported informal meetings For the present analysis this method was combined with person [illegible]

The remaining pattern II combined *writing and personal contacts;* formal meetings were nearly absent. Here co-ordination suffered. In these blocks, the smallest quantity of fertilizers was distributed in the previous year. For three out of four agricultural programmes, and for five pairs of officials out of six, members of these blocks said co-ordination was lower than elsewhere. We also found that more respondents under this pattern could not estimate whether things were going smoothly or not Written communiques would not tell this, and the personal contacts of any one individual were perhaps too few to give an overall picture On the initiative scores, these blocks stood about in the middle.

In short, it seemed that large formal meetings and writing were efficient for letting people know what to do, but not for encouraging them to use their own judgment. For that, the warmth of personal interaction was required. Both techniques together gave the best results.

Illustrations of Effective Communication

The interviews contained different examples of communication methods, each with its proponents. Use of regular formal meetings, according to the above analysis, may improve co-ordination. This approach was recommended by a district official:

> "My suggestion is that at the village level, in addition to development personnel, the Lekhpal, school teacher, irrigation Patrol, or tubewell operator, stockmen and vaccinators should attend the Gram Panchayat. At the block level the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Assistant Engineer of the Irrigation Department, Tehsildar, and veterinary doctor should attend meetings. It is only recently government has issued instructions to this effect. I am hopeful that such joint meetings will improve co-ordination in development activities."

In another district an Agricultural Extension Officer described meetings called for a particular purpose:

> "Before starting cultivation, we call cultivators and VLWs for demonstrations, how fertilizer is to be given, and in how much quantity. At that time all the cultivators come, and they hear calmly and do accordingly what we have said. In this programme all AEOs. and BDOs. come and help in the programme. Because of this co-operation we have been able to achieve our targets fully."

An ingenious special meeting to shortcut delays in fertilizer distribution was described by a block official:

> "The BDO asked the different administrative people to come to one place, where a meeting of the local people of a few adjoining villages was arranged. The EO Agriculture, the VLW, and Lekhpal were there.... The BDO invited applications from the farmers, asked the Lekhpal to certify the size of his holding, signed the order for the purchases of the fertilizer, and asked the shopkeeper (or Co-operative storekeeper) to give to the respective farmers the required amount of fertilizer."

The previous analysis suggests that personal contacts may encourage initiative An illustration of such contacts was given by a district technical officer:

> "The method of inspection trips is the most effective, as on inspection we can discuss very easily the merits and demerits of certain proposals, and it is also easier to appreciate each other's difficulties. The inspection brings us near to our subordinates, while their visit to my headquarters gives me a feeling of being big boss It provides the opportunity to understand the problems at first hand, and also invites discussion."

In conclusion, the reader should be cautioned again these results were based on a sound but small sample from three districts and nine blocks only. More definite conclusions will be possible after completion of the broader follow-up survey in the three Northern States, for which analysis of data is now under way.



CO-ORDINATION OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AT THE DISTRICT LEVEL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ROLE OF THE DISTRICT OFFICER IN BIHAR*

Haridwar Rai

CO-ORDINATION is fundamental to any organization[1]. It signifies teamwork and unity of efforts—"the careful oversight of relationships among operating units to ensure harmonious collaboration".[2] Human relations involved in a complex organization do not spontaneously yield productive results Based on specialization of functions, they tend quite often to pull in different directions and to work at cross purposes, calling for a co-ordinating authority to generalize and reconcile several functional divisions and outlooks. Co-ordination is concerned to bring about functional unity, eliminate differences in approach and treatment, reduce administrative and social distance and prevent "hiatus in space and time".[3] It is a corrective to excessive specialization and is a brake upon the propensity to "empire-building". It is a conscious, continuous process

*The scope of the study is confined to discussing co-ordination of development programmes in those districts of Bihar where Panchayati Raj bodies have not started working So far, only three districts are covered by Panchayati Raj legislation which came into force on the 2nd October, 1964 Its implications are yet to be assessed.

[1] Co-ordination is defined in two senses : (*a*) as the purpose of organization, and (*b*) as an aspect of management According to Mooney and Reiley, it "expresses the principles of organisation in *toto*". *See* James D. Mooney and Allan C Reiley. *The Principles of Organization*, New York, Harper, 1939, pp. 5-6 Urwick calls it "the purpose of organization". *See* L. Urwick, *The Elements of Administration*, London, Harper, 1943, p 44. In the second sense of the term, co-ordination refers to "a phase of management", an aspect of supervision. *See* John D Millet, *Management in the Public Service*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1954, p 114. While agreeing that the task of co-ordination is universal, White holds that it is not the whole of organization. ". . a prefectly co-ordinated organization" he writes, "lacking dynamic direction or harassed by disaffection in the rank and file would hardly be a perfect specimen". It emphasizes the leadership and human relations aspect in organization *See* L. D. White, *Introduction to the Study of Public Administration*, New York, Macmillan, 1949, p 210. Tead agrees with the definition in the second sense of the term when he says it is not "identical with administration itself" "Administration", observes he, "is an even more inclusive body of duties and responsibilities". *See O. Tead, The Art of Administration,* New York, McGraw-Hill, *1951*, p 103

[2] John D. Millet, *op. cit*, p. 114.

[3] *See* S B Bapat, "Thoughts on Co-ordination", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 2 : 3, July-September, 1956, p 26 For a detailed study of problems of field co-ordination, *see* Henry Maddick, *Democracy, Decentralization And Development*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1963, Chapter IV, and United Nations, *Decentralization For National And Local Development*, New York, U N. Technical Assistance Programme, 1962, Chapter IV.

and is all-pervasive in the field of any collective undertaking Indeed, co-ordination is needed at all levels and at all times.[4]

The word *development* has become a new purpose and end of governmental activities in the Indian countryside It refers to planned, purposive and conscious change from a traditional, static and irrational social order to a modern, dynamic and rational social order.[5] It visualizes an organic, gradual and consciously planned transition from one social system to another. The emphasis is upon formulating end-oriented scheme of means centring around stimulated change resulting from collaboration between the efforts of the people and those of governmental agencies.

In the Indian context, development refers to rural development The stress is on all sided, comprehensive, rural development, because the village life is indivisible and rural problems are interdependent, and no one aspect can be tackled in isolation from the rest [6] Development, in the Indian context, is, therefore, organic, integrative and multi-faceted, aiming at developing both the man and the community in all their aspects "The purpose of rural reconstruction", to quote Hatch, "is to bring about a complete upward development towards a more abundant life for rural people, spiritually, mentally, physically, socially and economically "[7] Development, therefore, means a multiple approach The purpose is to effect integral advancement through community effort by inculcating a sense of co-operation and partnership among its members. This underlines the growth of representative institutions around which the enthusiasm of the people is sought to be aroused and sustained

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[4] "Co-ordination" has remarked Cameron, "just does not happen It has to be laid on, and should never be left to chance in the hope that those primarily concerned in a particular job will remember to bring in all other people involved . . Co-ordination is needed at all levels and is best thought of as a continuing process " *See* R M Findlay, *The Art of Administration*, London, Oliver and Boyd, 1952, p 51

[5] Development, says Phillips Ruopp, "is the purposive alteration of conditions Development signifies change from something thought to be less desirable to something thought to be more desirable It further signifies the rational direction of human organisation and skill towards the attainment of the desirable" *See Approaches to Community Development : A Symposium Introductory to Problems and Methods of Village Welfare in Under-Developed Areas*, The Hague, W Van Hoeve, 1953, p 16

[6] The foremost pillar of policy in rural reconstruction work is its comprehensive nature It is regarded as a "discovery", and, according to Hatch, "bids fair to be one of the most valuable contributions to rural science in this generation" *See* D Spencer Hatch, "Extension Experience in India", *Farmers of the World*, eds , Edmund D Brunner, I T Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, New York, Columbia University Press, 1947, p 69 In this connection, the observations of an eminent Indian civilian describing the problems of rural advancement as having organic unity are pertinent *See* J N Gupta, *The Foundations of National Progress*, Calcutta, Elms Press, 1927, p 218.

[7] D. Spencer Hatch, *op. cit*, p. 69.

Development comprehends three essentials of self-help, interdependence and felt needs. These are to act as "an inherent philosophy of any government plan in its approach to the people". This philosophy is to be supplemented by "principles of action" embraced in communication, co-ordination and sensitivity.[8] This implies a new pattern of administration in its dealings with the people in the development fields as distinct from one based on law and order.

Programmes represent a plan of action, a scheme with defined goals. *Development programmes* stand for certain welfare services and promotional activities being executed in community development and national extension service blocks. The unique feature of Indian development programmes is the integration of community development and extension programmes under one comprehensive service called the national extension service.[9] This integration makes our programmes wider than agricultural extension programme. Indeed, they constitute the nucleus of national development programmes based on the principles, methods and techniques of extension. Community development's chief method is extension, and extension's chief purpose is community development The programmes are extension programmes denoting the educational process of extending knowledge to the village, but their breadth in India reaches the maximum spread covering all the aspects of community life.

The following are the principal sectors of development programmes:[10]

(*i*) Agriculture Production:
(*ii*) Minor Irrigation.
(*iii*) Soil Conservation including Waste Land Reclamation
(*iv*) Consolidation of holdings.
(*v*) Animal Husbandry
(*vi*) Dairying and Milk supply.
(*vii*) Fisheries
(*viii*) Co-operation

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[8] Peter du Sautoy, "A Guide for the Administrator to the Principles of Community Development", *Journal of Local Administration Overseas*, 2 : 4, p 209.

[9] *See* Carl C Taylor, *A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme*, New Delhi, C P.A , Government of India, 1956, p. 13

[10] *See* a printed copy of the letter, dated May 12, 1965, of the Development Commissioner, Bihar, to all Secretaries to Government of Bihar, and an enclosed copy of a "Note Received from Planning Commission" in connection with preparation of District Plans, Block Plans and City Plans. *See* also Government of India, *Community Development Programme in India*, New Delhi, C.P.A., 1955.

(*ix*) Activities envisaged under the Community Development Budget.

(*x*) Major and medium irrigation and flood control

(*xi*) Village and small industries and processing industries.

(*xii*) Rural electrification, with particular reference to utilization of power for irrigation purposes and for small industries.

(*xiii*) Elementary and Social Education.

(*xiv*) Rural Health and medical services and family planning

(*xv*) P W D. Roads

(*xvi*) District and Rural Roads including village approach roads.

(*xvii*) Works Programme for fuller utilization of rural manpower

(*xviii*) Social Welfare including welfare of the weaker section.

CO-ORDINATION OF SPECIAL DEPARTMENTS IN THE DISTRICT: A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL CONVENTION

In the early days of the British administration following the "Mutiny", the District Officer had himself to provide for such matters as jails, forests, medicine, sanitation, public works and education But this was a short-lived phase, as elaboration of public business, over a period of years, resulted in the division of the district administration into new departments, usually called "special" departments, under European officers of the district rank [11] This development introduced a dichotomy in the district administration, bifurcating the allegiance of the district heads of special departments They were responsible to the District Officer so far as their activities had bearing upon the general well-being of the people and to their own departmental superiors so far as technical matters were concerned This tended to absorb part of the District Officer's duties for which he had been previously solely responsible The business of government in the district ceased being centred in one man [12]

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[11] Newly created departments came to be called "special" departments and distinct from "regular" departments of traditional type, such as, those dealing with law and order, judicial and revenue functions

[12] The expansion of governmental activities and their division into organized departments in the district resulted in the erosion of the authority of the District Officer Though the District Officer was still consulted about the operations of those departments for they would certainly affect the important question of revenue and would impinge upon the lives of the people of the locality, the fact remained that separate organized departments had come into existence in the district and they were under the control of their departmental chiefs in technical matters *See* Edward Thompson and G T Garrat, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, Indian Reprint, Allahabad, Central Book Depot, 1954, p 427 *See* also *Royal Commission Report upon Decentralization in India*, Vol. 1, London, H.M.S.O., 1909, Chapters II and VI.

This development in the district administration was based on the specialization of functions and gave rise to what came to be called "departmentalism". Lord Curzon regarded departmentalism as a disease—"an intellectual hiatus—the complete absence of thought or apprehension of anything outside the purely departmental aspects of the matter under discussion"[13] This tended to undermine the District Officer's "unifying influence over the various branches of Government" and an official commission had to recommend in 1909 that the District Officer should be recognized as head of the district and that to this end he should be empowered to call for any information which he thought fit.[14] At any rate, the District Officer continued to influence the policy and working of special departments "in varying degrees" and was "always there in the background to lend his support or, if need be, to mediate between a specialized service and the people".[15] Even this vague and tenuous superior authority of the District Officer was adversely affected with the introduction of Dyarchy under the Government of India Act, 1919, when Indian Ministers took charge of "nation-building" departments creating a dyarchical structure from the provincial headquarters down to the district level.[16] The control of these Ministers over "about half the field of administration . . . began to flow through a new system of channels direct from provincial headquarters"[17] As a result, officers of special departments tended to take their difficulties to and seek guidance from their departmental superiors instead of referring them in the first instance to the District Officer.

The introduction of Provincial Autonomy under the Government of India Act, 1935, appeared to strengthen the position of the District Officer in dealing with officers of nation-building departments. He became the agent in the district of a government which functioned more coherently and harmoniously than did its predecessor.[18] "Contact between the District Officer and the local representatives of the other

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[13] Lord Ronaldshay, *The Life of Lord Curzon*, Vol II, London, Ernest Benn, 1928, p 321.

[14] *Report of the Royal Commission Upon Decentralisation in India, op. cit*, para 536.

[15] See *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, 1918, p 80

[16] "Nation-building" departments belonged to the "transferred" half of the functions of Provincial Government entrusted to the charge of Ministers under Dyarchy, and included education, public health, agriculture, local bodies, co-operation, etc After Independence, "nation-building" departments came to be called development departments

[17] John Anderson, "Administration in India", *Public Administration*, 12 : 1, 1939, p 6.

[18] The Indian National Congress had formed Government in the province of Bihar under the Government of India Act, 1935. The Government was a party government and functioned on the principles of collective responsibility. It was in charge practically of the whole administration of the province.

departments became closer and consultation more frequent."[19] This enabled him to function more effectively in respect of the activities of other departments. However, his relation with them was ever one of informal co-operation in which each department, for the most part, acted separately but was expected to consider his views on matters of general policy substantially affecting the welfare of the district.[20] Gradually, however, his primacy among district-level officials "tended to become more a social convention than an administrative reality".[21]

Besides, there was a defect in the structure of the district administration itself which led to diversification and diffusion of governmental activities at the district level. There was no liaison, worth the name, between the activities of any two departments in the district. They suffered from an absence of common outlook and common approach to the problems of the village people. Rural development work was thought largely in terms of particular items of improvement in village life and in agricultural practice. Field workers were let loose in large administrative areas without proper training, equipment and facilities. This involved considerable duplication of staff making for constant conflict in jurisdiction and also in the framing and execution of policies. The result was large wastage of energy, loss of time and an all-round excess of expenditure on travelling allowances and contingencies.[22] The District Officer had little power to set things right and to make agencies of rural development work in a co-ordinated manner. In the last days of the British rule, the tendency all over India was "to weaken his power and influence as the "head" of the district and as the one co-ordinating authority over all the other district officers each engaged in the particular work of his department".[23]

The following description of the role of the District Officer *vis-a-vis* district heads of development departments in Bengal, on the eve of Independence, is equally true of Bihar:

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[19] John Anderson, *op. cit*, p.6.

[20] *See* an unpublished Ph D thesis of Haridwar Rai, *The District Officer in Bihar*, Patna, Patna University, 1964, p 221.

[21] P E.O. Government of India, *Evaluation Report on First Year's Working of Community Projects*, Delhi, Planning Commission, 1954, p 12.

[22] "For many years there have been well-organized development departments—Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, co-operation—in the larger States These, however, work independently following their own programmes and without a sense of common objective Each department approaches the villager through its own hierarchy . . Nor are the activities of these departments linked up with those of revenue officers . . ." *See* Government of India, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, *Report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee*, Delhi, Manager of Publications, 1952, p 53, *see* also Government of Bihar, *Report of the Economy Committee*, Patna, Superintendent, Government Printing, 1952, p 35

[23] M. Venkatarangaiya, "The Pattern of Public Administration in the Five Year Plan", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, 14 : 3, p. 225.

"The lot of the District Officer, like that of the comic opera policeman, is not a happy one. He is expected to see that nothing goes wrong in his District, but he has little power outside the Magistrate and Collector field to see that things go right. . .He can cajole and persuade: he cannot compel He is regarded as responsible for stimulating the activities of the officers of other departments, but he has no real control over them, and, although they are under an obligation to keep him informed of their activities, the extent to which this obligation is discharged depends in most cases on the personal factor."[24]

EVOLUTION OF A CO-ORDINATIVE CONCEPT

Before launching upon a nation-wide scheme of rural development after the attainment of Independence, the search for a new concept of rural reconstruction and a new pattern of administration was started Some schemes in the nature of experiments, such as, the Sarvodaya Scheme in Bombay, the Firka Development Scheme in Madras and the Etawah Development Scheme in U.P. were inaugurated which made Government and people familiar with "the idea of community approach" [25] They further demonstrated how success in the field of rural development could be achieved by balanced and well-designed programmes through a co-ordinated administration.[26] They pointed to the following conclusions·

> "One was that the confusing multiplicity of welfare services, offered by the field agents of a number of separate government departments, often bewildered the village people. The other was that the extensive type of welfare work attempted by government departments touched only the surface of village problems; it was neither sufficiently sustained nor penetrating enough to leave any permanent impression on the lives of the people."[27]

These projects served as testing grounds for methods in rural development and emphasized the fact that the approach to the villager

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[24] Government of Bengal, *Report of the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee, 1944-45*, Calcutta, Alipore, Superintendent, Government Printing, Bengal Government Press, 1945, para 55

[25] United Nations, *Report of the Mission on Community Organization and Development in South and Southeast Asia*, New York, 1953, p 8.

[26] For a study of the various experiments in rural development in India, *see* Government of India, *Evolution of Community Development Programme in India*, Delhi, Ministry of Community Development and Panchayati Raj, Manager of Publications, 1963.

[27] S C Dube, *India's Changing Villages*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958, pp 11-12

should be in terms of his own experience and problems, conceived on the pattern of simplicity, shorn of elaborate techniques and equipment until he was ready for them. In the light of these conclusions, rural development programmes, called community development and national extension service programmes, were formulated and put into effect in selected areas in 1952-53. This called for the establishment of a multi-purpose administrative agency, implying the working together of a large number of functional specialists, generally known as subject-matter specialists, in one area in the pursuit of a common plan of development.[28] This, in turn, emphasized a mechanism for co-ordination both in preparation of plans and their execution. In devising such an administrative machinery or extension organization, three principles were kept in view: (*a*) that there should be the closest co-operation in the activities of all departments, at all levels, concerned with rural development; (*b*) that at every stage, the official agencies should work in close collaboration with the best non-official leadership; and (*c*) that at the point of contact with the villager, there should be a trained multipurpose village worker who would act as the common agent of all the development departments and would be the friend and guide of the village people.

In the new pattern of administration, the District Officer occupies a pivotal position It is worthwhile mentioning, however, that there intervened a short, though uneasy, period of gestation before he could assume the supreme co-ordinating role in the development administration in his area.[29] He had little or no voice in the administration of the first series of community projects, for they were started as mere experiments in the field of rural development and were not organically linked up with the existing administrative machinery except that at the top level, namely, the Development Commissioner It was realized before long that unless the District Officer was invested with sufficient powers of financial and administrative sanction and was placed in the centre of rural development work, development programmes would not attain momentum with the people.[30] It was also recognized that without his mediacy the problem of co-ordination at the district level

[28] In this paper such terms as technical officers, development officers, functional specialists and subject-matter specialists have been used inter-changeably Officers of special departments in the district were generally called technical officers They are still called technical officers and their departments are called technical departments In 1955, the Government of Bihar redesignated district technical officers as development officers and technical departments as development departments In the context of the development administration, particularly in development blocks, they are called subject-matter specialists.

[29] *See* Haridwar Rai, "The Changing Role of the District Officer (1860-1960)", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 9: 2, July-September, 1963, pp 238-257

[30] *See* U. L. Goswami, "The Structure of Development Administration", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, 1 : 2, April-June, 1955, pp. 107-111.

would not be solved. All this called for a proper institutionalization of his relationships with the functional specialists of the district rank rather than leave them to be governed by his vague superior authority, his traditional influence and prestige emanating, in the main, from his membership of the All-India service and his power of recording their annual confidential rolls.

To clarify and consolidate his responsibility as well as that of other officers involved in the development administration, the State Government put into effect, in 1954, a scheme called the National Extension Service Organization, spelling out the broad framework of the development administrative machinery.[31] Co-ordinating functions similar to those of the District Officer were conferred upon Sub-divisional Officers and Block Development Officers at the Sub-divisional and block levels respectively, and the subject-matter specialists at those levels were brought under their administrative control and supervision. This is how the national extension agency was juxtaposed with the general administrative hierarchy, the two being held together by a vertical chain of co-ordinating authorities.

In the new system of administration, each part of development programmes and the subject-matter specialists concerned with it are controlled by the department of Government which deals generally with that subject. For example, the Department of Agriculture exercises technical control over the programme of agricultural extension, and over the staff employed for the purpose. The departments concerned take initiative in and assume responsibility for different kinds of work in development blocks and are responsible for ensuring adequate technical supervision over the execution of their respective programmes. They also make arrangements for regular inspection. But the alchemy of co-ordination welds them together and enthuses the existing instrumentalities with a new purpose. Indeed, it is in response to the need for co-ordination that responsibility for execution in the district is vested in one generalist administrator and not in a multiplicity of functional specialists. This has served to draw the District Officer into the main stream of development work and to make him directly responsible for its proper co-ordination and overall success.

The role of the District Officer in Bihar is amply defined and clarified so that there is no ambiguity or vagueness about it. He is squarely accountable for the failure or success of development

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[31] For the Full Scheme, *see* Government of Bihar, *Compendium of Important Letters and Circulars on National Extension Service and Community Development*, Vol. I, Patna, Superintendent, Secretariat Press, 1958, pp. 1-2.

programmes. He is, however, not to be burdened with routine matters, establishment duties and technical details. He is only responsible for ensuring:[32]

"(*a*) that the development and welfare schemes are such as would meet the needs of the people;

(*b*) that the time-tables for various schemes are adhered to, and targets reached in time;

(*c*) that there is no corruption;

(*d*) that there is proper co-ordination, and difficulties in the execution of schemes are removed; and

(*e*) that wherever necessary, people's co-operation is secured."

MECHANISM OF CO-ORDINATION

There are several formal and informal devices at the disposal of the District Officer to help him discharge his co-ordinating responsibilities. Of these, the structure of organization, the system of administrative supervision, the method of communication, the power of financial sanction, the role of official and non-official committees and the importance of informal consultation need special mention.

A. Structural Arrangement

The District Officer is clothed with the power to exercise supervision and control over the activities of various development officers of district rank so as to effect co-ordination horizontally and produce some kind of a functional unity.[33] The pattern of his control over these officers and their activities conforms to the pattern of his control over the police, namely, while the organizational and professional or technical control over them is that of the departmental superiors, the functional or administrative control in non-technical matters is exercised, within certain limits, by the District Officer. The development

[32] Government of Bihar, *Compendium of Important Letters and Circulars on National Extension Service and Community Development*, *op. cit*, pp 6-10.

[33] "Development Officers" are officers of district rank serving in a district "under the control of Government" in any of the following departments and having to deal with development and welfare schemes in the district: Education, Electricity, Irrigation, Housing, Medical and Health, Agriculture and Animal Husbandry, Gram Panchayat, Local Self-Government, Public Health Engineering, Public Works including Buildings and Roads, Social Welfare, Co-operation, Revenue, Forests, Industries, Statistics, Public Relations, Mines, Relief, Social Education, Fisheries, Land Acquisition and National Savings. The list has grown more than twice in size of what it was in 1955. This is an important index of the expanding scope of the district administration.

officers of district rank have instructions to be in close touch with the District Officer and to seek his guidance and help in the discharge of their duties The District Officer, in turn, is advised to take keen interest in their work and help solve their difficulties in every way. His guidance and supervision is, nevertheless, confined to the administrative field, and in technical matters, the views of technical officers prevail and technical supervision comes from their own technical superiors

This system of control is an attempt to combine the horizontal responsibilities of the generalist administrator with the vertical responsibilities of the functional specialists. The system involves dual control and dual allegiance The functional specialists have to play an active role in establishing healthy traditions of mutual understanding and respect for one another's points of view. It is their duty to inculcate in their subordinates a right attitude towards the District Officer The following excerpt from a circular of Government containing its instruction on the subject is worth quoting:

> "The anxiety for safeguarding departmental rights, privileges or prestige should give place to anxiety for furthering the objects of Government as a whole and for speedy progress of work, seeking from and offering to officers of other departments, all the cooperation needed for fulfilling the object "[34]

Under this system of control and supervision, it is not always easy to distinguish between technical matters and administrative matters, though owing to the long established traditions in the district administration, there has emerged an area of agreement as to the nature of each If, for example, a culvert is being constructed, the design and estimates of cost as well as the location are technical decisions, but it is an administrative judgment to take into account public reactions about the inconvenience of the proposed location and to approve a different though practicable site even at a slightly increased cost Likewise, the quality of seeds or their suitability are technical questions but the conditions and methods of their distribution and the agencies to be employed for it call for administrative decisions. The basic structural arrangement is such as to make for the superiority of administrative decisions over technical decisions, and, consequently, of the generalist administrator at a specific level over the technical officers at that level Co-ordination is thus a function of superior administrative decision

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[34] *See* Government of Bihar, *Compendium of Important Circulars and Letters on N E S and Community Development*, Vol I, *op cit.*, p 10.

B. Administrative Supervision

The District Officer exercises administrative supervision over development officers as a technique for co-ordinating their activities. This may take many forms. He can, for example, move the head of department for the transfer of an officer of that department either within the district or outside it, and if the head does not wish to accept the recommendation of the District Officer, he states his reason and obtains orders of Government. Further, the District Officer can ask a development officer to transfer within the district a subordinate officer the latter has power to transfer. But before the issue of such an order, the District Officer ordinarily consults the development officer concerned. Again, it is within his competence to advise against the transfer of an employee of a particular development department whose transfer may hamper the proper execution of development programmes. This makes his office administratively potent and socially prestigeous.

The District Officer has been further empowered to call for periodical reports from development officers, make his comments on them and issue such instructions as he may consider necessary. But he has to confine his comments to administrative matters, sending copies of his instructions to the divisional officer of the department or head of department concerned [35] If the divisional officer or head of department has anything to say in regard to the instructions, he writes to the District Officer, and then the matter is settled either by mutual consultation or by referring it to Government for orders It is generally found that in such cases the views and observations of the Divisional Commissioner and the District Officer are invariably accepted by Government. Besides, the District Officer is invested with power to call for reports, in the nature of explanations, from development officers in respect of any administrative matter If he wants any further action to be taken in the matter, he may report to heads of departments concerned to which the latter have to give the fullest consideration.

A potent method of administrative control is the system of writing annual confidential rolls. The District Officer records his confidential remarks annually on the work and conduct of development officers and forwards them to divisional heads of departments concerned latest by the 1st of May The divisional heads enter their remarks and

[35] Important development departments have their representatives posted at the divisional level. The Divisional Commissioner holds periodical meetings of these officers to co-ordinate their activities There is a Regional Development Officer to assist the Divisional Commissioner in his development work

forward them to the Divisional Commissioner along with the remarks of the District Officer. The Divisional Commissioner forwards them with his own remarks to heads of departments concerned latest by the 31st of May, and, thereafter, they are passed on to administrative departments by the 30th of June. In case of difference of opinion between the Divisional Commissioner and any head of department, Government in the department concerned decides as to whose opinion should be accepted. Here again the views of the District Officer and the Divisional Commissioner are generally accepted. The system of confidential writing underlines the superiority of the officers of the general administrative hierarchy at all levels—state, division, district and down below—over those of technical departments at corresponding levels. All this only reinforces the classical-generalist tradition of the Indian administration.

C. Reports and Inspections

There are two important supervisory tools employed by the District Officer to effect co-ordination of development activities: (*a*) inspection of results and (*b*) progress reports and returns. The latter as a device of "remote control" places reliance on statistical and narrative accounts submitted by field officials to headquarters. Reporting as a supervisory technique is usually supplemented by some inspection practice. The written report can never adequately replace the usefulness of personal, first hand, acquaintance with field operations. Thus, both report and inspection are complementary practices of supervising and controlling field operations.

The District Officer is assisted in the inspection of development blocks by the District Development Officer,[36] Apart from casual visits of superior officers, namely, the District Officer, the District Development Officer and the headquarters and district heads of technical departments, State Government has prescribed the following minimum standards of detailed inspection of development blocks by various inspecting officers:

(*a*) District Officer or District Development Officer	Every block in the district must be inspected at least once in a year.
(*b*) Sub-divisional Officer	Every block in the sub-division once in a year.

[36] The District Development Officer is generally a senior Deputy Collector of the rank of Additional District Magistrate posted at the district headquarters to assist the District Officer in development work.

(*c*) Block Development Officer — Detailed inspection of his office once every six months and field inspection and inspection of the records, etc., of at least two Village Level Workers every month.

Besides, every department of Government concerned with development programmes has a definite responsibility in respect of the initiation of its programme and its execution in a development block through its subject-matter specialist at the block level. The efficacy of a programme can best be ensured by frequent inspection of blocks by superior technical officers of the department concerned. Furthermore, Block Development Officers and subject-matter specialists in blocks have to spend 80 nights in a year outside the block headquarters and tour 180 days in a year. Likewise, the minimum number of days to be spent by Development Officers is prescribed. For example, the District Agriculture Officer has to spend 150 days and 90 nights on inspection tours. Development officers and Sub-divisional Officers submit their inspection reports to the District Officer, who with his comments, sends them on to the Divisional Commissioner for final transmission to the Development Commissioner This enables the District Officer to oversee the activities of all development departments in the district, bring about some kind of functional adjustment and have a broad picture of the operation of the extension organization.

The other important tool of supervision, namely, the system of periodical progress reports and returns, is as old as the system of field administration. These reports may be narrative or statistical; they may deal with the broad scope of all major activities, or they may be confined to a few essentials. They are the basis of the age-old system of administrative intelligence which the development block as an administrative and functional unit maintained both for its own use and also for the use of the higher levels of administration. Indeed, it is on the validity and accuracy of the information collected and collated at this level that the ultimate usefulness of all subsequent reports and analysis for social and economic planning depends.

Until recently, the Block Development Officer submitted two progress reports, one monthly and the other quarterly. The monthly progress report was a quantitative statement, though it was accompanied by a factual review dealing with the qualitative aspects of the programme operation, their effect upon the people and communities concerned and *vice versa*. This report was submitted by the Block Development Officer to the District Officer through the Sub-divisional

Officer. The District Officer would forward it to the Divisional Commissioner with his comments along with his usual fortnightly confidential reports They were analyzed and examined in the office of the Divisional Commissioner and necessary remarks and instructions issued to the officers concerned.

The submission of monthly reports has been discontinued, though the Block Development Officer is still required to keep a record of monthly progress of development programmes for the convenience of inspecting officers. The practice of submitting quarterly progress reports is being retained as an essential device of supervision. The narrative part of quarterly progress reports contains information on the following points:

(*i*) General assessment of work in development blocks with particular reference to targets of agricultural production and people's participation.

(*ii*) Administrative difficulties in development programmes, extent of co-ordination and interest taken by various departments.

(*iii*) A short note stating whether the inspections by officers of all levels are adequate for the purpose of programmes.

(*iv*) Interest taken by Block Development Committee, and by officials and non-officials.

(*v*) Overall achievements in various fields of development programmes, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation, education, cottage industries, irrigation, small savings, etc.

D Communication

The District Officer is the channel of communication as regards development programmes, as he is and has been in respect of other items of the district administration Copies of all correspondence, except those which deal with purely technical or unimportant matters, between the heads of departments and their field officers in the district are sent to the District Officer The District Officer, in turn, sends to the heads of departments concerned copies of all the important instructions issued by him to Development Officers. Moreover,in all matters of factual enquiry such as reminders about periodic reports or returns, or specific factual reports relating to a particular area, etc ,

the State Government writes to the District Officer and sends copies of records to the Sub-divisional Officer and the Block Development Officer concerned, asking the latter to send a copy of the report direct to the State headquarters. It is further found that in all matters, important or unimportant, which involve correspondence with development officers or sub-divisional technical officers, the Block Development Officer writes to the District Officer or the Sub-divisional Officer, as the case may be, who takes up the matter with his counterparts at the district or sub-divisional level and sends copies of their letters to the technical officers concerned

It has been further laid down by the State Government that a development officer, while sending his tour programme for approval to the head of department or divisional officer, as the case may be, will forward a copy so as to reach the District Officer at least 10 days in advance The District Officer is competent to suggest changes in the tour programme or to instruct the Development Officer concerned to perform a particular tour for a particular purpose Such instructions as he may issue regarding changes in the tour programme are duly incorporated by the Development Officer and reported to his head of department or his Divisional Officer concerned If a Development Officer has to proceed on tour at short notice in connection with urgent work he has to report his intention to the District Officer who, for reasons to be recorded, may require him to remain at headquarters This enables him to be in touch with and to co-ordinate the tour programmes of Development Officers

Furthermore, a Development Officer's application for casual leave is forwarded through the District Officer to the competent authority to grant it. The concurrence of the District Officer is necessary before leave is granted Again, after such leave is granted, the officer concerned has to obtain the permission of the District Officer to leave the headquarters Besides, his application for regular leave is also forwarded through the District Officer, who records his views for the information of the authority competent to sanction it. This enables the District Officer to control the movement of Development Officers and to secure the timely and speedy execution of development programmes

E. Financial Sanction and Control

The District Officer is granted the powers of head of department in financial matters for the purposes of development blocks and community projects in the district The incurring of expenditure according

to powers delegated is subject to budget provision being available for the purpose. The following are some such powers:

S.No. Powers	Extent of Powers
1. To make appointment to salaried posts.	Full powers in respect of posts carrying a pay scale, the minimum of which does not exceed Rs. 100 per month subject to the usual course of recruitment as prescribed by the State Government.
2. To accept resignation of non-gazetted Government servants	Full powers in respect of Government servants holding posts, appointment to which was made by him.
3. Withholding increments in respect of Government servants.	—Do—
4. To allow mileage allowance to be calculated on the route actually used other than the shortest or cheapest route.	Under Rule 43 of the Bihar T.A. Rules, in respect of all staff working in community projects and development blocks.
5. Halting allowance of more than 10 nights (under Rule 67 of the Bihar T. A. Rules).	For all staff working in community projects and development blocks in excess of 10 nights up to a limit of 30 nights.
6. To act as Controlling Officer under Rule 157 of the Bihar T. A. Rules.	In respect of Project Executive Officer and Block Development Officer.
7. To sanction special contingency listed in paragraph 190 of the Treasury Manual.	Up to Rs. 1,000 for a single item of non-recurring nature subject to budget provision.
8. To sanction expenditure on advertisement charges.	Full powers subject to budget provision.

S No	Powers	Extent of Powers
9.	To sanction expenditure on local purchase of stationery.	Subject to limits in Rule 14 of the Bihar Stationery Manual
10.	To sanction expenditure on repairs to motor vehicles.	Full powers subject to the condition that the vehicle is inspected in case of major repairs, and this will not be necessary in minor repairs.
11.	Repairs to furniture	Full powers subject to budget provision.
12.	To sanction and purchase tents and camp equipages.	Full powers subject to budget provision.
13.	Grants-in-aid.	Full powers within the sanctioned scheme and programme subject to budget provision.
14.	Hiring of houses for purposes other than residential accommodation.	Up to Rs 250 per month subject to the certificate of fairness of rent from the appropriate authority
15.	Tools, plant and equipment	Full powers within the sanctioned scheme and programme subject to budget provision.

The following powers of administrative approval and financial sanction for expenditure on original works in development blocks and community projects have been delegated to the District Officer.

S.No.	Nature of Delegation	Extent of Power
1.	All original works including buildings, residential and non-residential.	Rs 20,000 subject to budget provision.
2.	Water, sanitary, electrical installations.	Rs 1,000 subject to budget provision.

3. Acceptance of tenders for works	Rs. 100,000 provided the lowest tender is accepted and is not in excess of 5 per cent of the amount of financial sanction.
4. Expenditure on miscellaneous items.	Full powers.
5. Stock limit—To sanction the stock limit for each development block area.	Full powers.
6 Write off of . (*a*) loss due to depreciation, (*b*) loss in manufacture, (*c*) loss from any other causes, not due to theft, fraud or negligence.	Rs. 1,000 in each case provided the loss does not disclose any defect in rule nor negligence on the part of any officer.

These delegations have resulted in accelerating the process of deconcentration and making the District Officer the *prima donna* of the team of officials involved in the development administration. It has relieved the State Government and the Development Commissioner of much detail, which, at any rate, cannot possibly be dealt with there without creating an inconceivable congestion, and has consequently made the District Officer a sort of buffer between policies of higher authorities and local needs. Similar, though more limited, powers have been delegated to Block Development Officers, Project Executive Officers and Sub-divisional Officers so that they can take action, like the District Officer, in their own areas, with a degree of discretion, and are not required to write to their administrative superiors seeking their sanction for taking administrative decisions in the context of local situations. They have become more effective co-ordinators in their respective areas than they would otherwise be in the absence of such delegations

F. Institutional Mechanism

In addition to the above-mentioned techniques of co-ordination, the District Officer has been provided with and employs such well-known institutional devices as committees and conferences which are intended to generate understanding and willing agreement among

members of the district extension team and to emphasize unified efforts to have the aims of development programmes well carried out. Here the focus is upon the smooth working of the organization as a whole, beyond that of each of its functional parts, and upon the fostering of personal outlooks and people's co-operation which facilitate unified result.

(1) District Consultative Committee

This Committee began functioning from the beginning of 1964 It has a composite membership of non-officials and officials, and meets under the chairmanship of the District Officer The non-official members of the Committee are:

(*a*) Members of Parliament representing the district, and

(*b*) Members of Legislative Assembly representing the district including Ministers and members of Legislative Council belonging to the district including Ministers

The official members of the Committee are:

(*a*) District heads of technical departments,

(*b*) Sub-divisional Officers,

(*c*) Block Development Officers, when desired by the District Officer,

(*d*) Project Executive Officers, and

(*e*) Assistant Registrars of Co-operative Societies.

The District Consultative Committee, as its name suggests, is a purely advisory body, "its functions, in very broad terms, bring to help in the better administration of the district" [37] It meets once in three months, though it may meet earlier to discuss a special problem facing the district [38] It meets on the day preceding the date fixed for the meetings of the District Development Committee and the District Co-ordination Committee With a view to bringing about uniformity

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[37] The composition, functions, and periodicity of the meetings of the District Consultative Committee are determined by Chief Secretary's letters no 10610, dated the 17th of December, 1963, no CS/M 3-1037/64-4144, dated the 7th May, 1964, and the letter of the Deputy Secretary to Government of Bihar, no CS/C2-1064/64-7068, dated the 6th August, 1964

[38] The "special" meeting of the Patna District Consultative Committee was held on the 26th of August 1964,—only one and a half months after its regular meeting—to discuss the rise in prices of foodgrains and the enforcement of government orders.

in the periodicity of meetings of these Committees and to effecting economy, the State Government decided to hold their meetings on two or three successive days, beginning with the District Consultative Committee. An hour or so in the Consultative Committee meeting is set aside for questions and answers, as is the practice in the legislature. Non-official members give notice of questions to the District Officer or the District Development Officer, at least fifteen days in advance of the meeting, relating to all aspects of the District administration, namely, law and order, development, revenue, etc., though questions on development activities are by far the largest. Replies to these questions are prepared by District Development Officers concerned and forwarded to the office of the District Development Officer so as to reach the District Officer a couple of days before the meeting of the Consultative Committee. These replies are sent to non-official members "well in advance" of the meeting.

The District Officer has to study carefully various replies and statements of progress of the preceding quarter relating to activities of all departments He is not a mere chairman. He is the "Government", speaks on behalf of all the departments and is prepared to bear the brunt of non-official criticism. Indeed, an energetic, well-informed and dominating District Officer may himself give maximum number of replies on behalf of the district administration, seeking only occasional help of district technical officers. He has to direct deliberations into constructive channels and keep the official element in a state of preparedness. Besides, he has to maintain an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence by trying to satisfy the "critical curiosities" of the non-official element and, on the conclusion of the meeting, he may issue a press note giving an account of the proceedings in a manner that will interest the public, or, as an alternative, he may call a Press Conference for the purpose.

The District Officer is the principal actor on the stage of the Consultative Committee. His presence as Chairman and his contribution to the deliberations may well serve to bring under a single focus the activities of various departments in the district. The proceedings of the Committee help him to gauge the reactions of the people's representatives to the activities of departments and to pull them up or to pat them, as occasion demands, and, thus, to keep them on the right track.

(2) District Development Committee

The District Development Committee, unlike the District Consultative Committee, is not an omnibus committee, its sole concern

being the planning and execution of development programmes in the district. The District Officer is the Chairman of this Committee.[39] It consists of members of Parliament and State Legislature representing the district, some non-officials belonging to local bodies, co-operative societies and Bharat Sewak Samaj, a few nominated non-official members, district heads of technical departments, Sub-divisional Officers and a couple of nominated officials. The District Development Officer is its Secretary. It meets once in three months on the day following that on which the meeting of the District Consultative Committee is held.

The functions of the District Development Committee are confined to advising on all matters relating to development, the Five Year Plan and land reforms referred to it by the District Officer. It may also be called upon to give advice on development projects affecting two or more blocks or two or more sub-divisions. Besides, it holds discussions and formulates its opinion on development plans submitted by various Block Development Committees in the district and acts as a corrective to regional imbalances and disparities. Its main concern is the integrated and balanced development of the district as a whole. And, it is noticed that over a period of years, this Committee has become an essential part of the apparatus of the development administration in the district. Indeed, the representative character and the impressive composition of the Committee are such as to deter a District Officer from treating lightly its recommendations and advice.

Its two broad objectives are: (*a*) to secure active co-operation of the technical officials at the district or lower levels; and (*b*) to enable non-officials to participate actively in planning and implementation of development programmes. These would suggest that the problem of this Committee forms part of two larger problems of inter-departmental co-ordination on the one hand and the role of the popular element on the other in the execution of development programmes The District Officer occupies the most crucial place in the scheme of the Committee in that he can steer clear its deliberations of partisan considerations and can assist it to come to agreed decisions and to avoid divisions. But when this Committee is replaced by the Zilla Parishad, a statutory body, at the district level, in near future, the direct co-ordinating role of the District Officer in regard to planning of development programmes will considerably decline and will be substituted by his indirect and informal role of persuasion, advice and friendly remonstrance with the Zilla Parishad.

[39] For the composition and functions of the District Development Committee, see Government Resolution, dated the 24th June, 1959, No. EYPI—18/59-5645/D.C.

(3) District Co-ordination Committee

Another important institutional means of co-ordination of development activities at the district level is the District Co-ordination Committee, an entirely official body, which meets once in three months under the chairmanship of the District Officer. It is attended by the district heads of technical departments, Sub-divisional Officers and Block Development Officers. The Committee symbolizes the new concept of co-operations and democratic functioning of the administrative machine, and marks a break with the old authoritarian, superior subordinate relationships under which administrative superiors viewed their role largely as that of "inspecting officers".[40] The old system was based on the hierarchy of authority rather than one of responsibility, with little or no flow of common knowledge and common outlook from the bottom upwards. Even the schemes of rural development were run within the framework of "a directive administration".[41]

The District Co-ordination Committee is concerned with fixation of targets in the field of development programmes, review of the progress made in their execution, and resolution of inter-departmental bottlenecks. It devises ways and means to improve administrative efficiency and morale of the extension personnel, to promote teamwork and to stimulate public co-operation. "In these meetings" says a Government Circular, "the progress of work should be carefully scrutinized and causes of short-falls in targets and of difficulties encountered should be gone into".[42] The following agenda of a meeting of the District Co-ordination Committee will indicate its broad functions:[43]

(*i*) To confirm proceedings of the last meeting.
(*ii*) Review of the action taken by all concerned on the proceedings of the last meeting.
(*iii*) Review of the progress and of inter-departmental problems of the various departments (to be stated by district heads of technical departments).
(*iv*) Outstanding problems of blocks in relation to Government departments, and *vice versa*.
(*v*) Any other matter.

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[40] S C Dube, *op cit.*, p. 90

[41] T.A Koshy, "A New Approach to Project Administration", *Kurukshetra*, 3 : 1, 1954, p 35.

[42] Government of Bihar, *Compendium of Important Circulars and Letters on N E S. and Community Development*, *op cit.*, p. 42

[43] The Agenda of the Patna District Co-ordination Committee, dated the 28th of November, 1965.

G. His Present Role

These are all formal devices of co-ordination—or is it control?—of development programmes at the district level. They underline the dual role of the District Officer—a rather incompatible combination—his role as leader of the extension team in the district and also his role as boss of all employees of the State Government working in the district, except members of the judiciary. To this may be added his traditional influence and prestige and the informal consultations and meetings he holds with Officers of district rank to talk a matter over. Some District Officers prepare rosters of inspections and get them approved by District Development Committees, and thus both non-officials and officials have an idea of the tour programme of district technical officers. Besides, there are instances of a District Officer fixing a specific day in a week on which he may ask district technical officers to stay at the headquarters and discuss their problems with him. His role is, therefore, no longer a vague one of captain of the team of extension officers. His extension duties are deliberately and completely dovetailed into his original Collector-Magistrate role and his role as the Chief Executive Officer in the district. His responsibilities are distinctly fixed and fully clarified and his account ability for achieving targets of development programmes is established beyond a shadow of doubt. The following remark of the Chief Minister of Bihar made in December, 1964 may be quoted here to explain the point:

> "The District Officer is not merely the chief magistrate and the principal revenue functionary of the district, but he is in overall charge of all that is being done by the Government in his area. He must, therefore, engage himself in supervising all activities of the Government and naturally should receive due credit for the success of all policies and programmes and should share the blame for any failing or lapse in any field of governmental activity or responsibility."[44]

A foreign observer spoke in 1956 of the arrangement, namely, assignment of major co-ordinative role to the District Officer in the context of development programmes, in the following words:

> "The merit of this decision is that co-ordination of the contributions and personnel of the various development departments of

[44] This remark of Shri K B Sahay, the Chief Minister of Bihar, is gleaned from the *Summary Proceedings of the Conference of Divisional Commissioners and District Officers* held in the Secretariat Conference Room, Patna, on the 7th December, 1964.

the State is made much more probable than is now sometimes the case. Furthermore, it captures and utilises the high talents of District Collectors in the development programme."[45]

Under the arrangement, the District Officer represents the national extension agency and serves as symbol of combined efforts of various development departments. It is his duty to make the common purpose not just the sum total of individual departments but rather the guiding light of every constituent of the whole host of development officers at the district level. Though not a specialist in the usual sense of the term, he is intended to be a specialist in the purpose of the development administration, communicating it to all specialized parts and disciplines. He has to be an area specialist and also a specialist in human relations and in "generalization". He must be a specialist in the art of administration, a specialist in terms of his knowledge and awareness of the total national extension organization and the total area and people it serves. This calls for a developed, co-ordinative and creative faculty, a balanced mind—"a mind that not only can comprehend the working rhythm of vast and intricate machinery but also can recognise the axiomatic subservience of its output to the public interest."[46]

CRITIQUE OF CO-ORDINATION

The pattern of co-ordination at the district level is based on the system of dual control and supervision. It involves collaboration of the horizontal responsibilities of the area specialist with the vertical responsibilities of the functional specialists This pattern of co-ordination is described as an Indian invention for area co-ordination, and, as has been aptly said, it fits well into "the Indian method of public administration and co-ordination of governmental authorities".[47]

Under the system, the District Officer exercises full administrative supervision over the activities of district technical officers, but technical and professional control and organizational supervision is the function of heads of technical departments at the State headquarters. There

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[45] Carl C Taylor, *op cit*, p 25.

[46] F M Marx, *The Administrative State*, Chicago, the University of Chicago Press, 1957, p 173.

[47] M L. Wilson, *Community Development Programme in India Report of a Survey*, New Delhi, C P A, Government of India, Manager of Publications, 1956, p. 9.

are two kinds of relationships; involving two types of impulse—one general in scope and integrative in its influence, the other particularistic in scope and divisive in its influence. The one is concerned with supervision of the end product of the organization, the other is designed to improve the methods and tools by which work is done. The purpose is to provide a corrective to excessive specialization and division of labour and to secure a working combination of administrative and technical supervision in a particular area.[48] This is called the system of "dual hierarchy" or "dual supervision" which is regarded as "the best method of solving the problem of co-ordination".[49] The system is particularly relevant to a unitary or integrated type of field organization such as the Prefect System in Western European countries and the District Officer or Collector System in India. Under this system, the area specialist combines the principle of organization by area with that of general administration.[50]

This system of supervision is open to criticism on various grounds. In the first place, it gives rise to a controversy which centres round the generalist *versus* the specialist, the administrator *versus* the expert. It is alleged that the field services such as agriculture, health, irrigation, electrification and the like have become very complex and technical and the District Officer with his background of general administration has neither the mental equipment and aptitude nor training and willingness to appreciate the view-points of functional specialists. No doubt, the controversy is yet confined to academic discussions so far as the district level is concerned, though still rampant at the block level, the general feeling amongst functional specialists, particularly those of the engineering and agricultural sectors, is that, in the guise of administrative supervision, an erratic and unduly ambitious District Officer may interfere in their operations to the detriment of technical efficiency, and reduce them to second rate subordinates, killing incentive to teamwork and active collaboration. In the second place,

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[48] The "practice of dual supervision" has been, in particular, used as a device to reconcile the claims of area and those of functions. "When at the same time" to quote Macmahon "the area is supervised in the totality of its operations by an officer or organ within a more inclusive area, two types of guidance are involved: one being relatively general in aiming at responsibility for a total composite result through the combination of special programmes; the other seeking to stimulate and guide the particular activities each of which has its distinctive technical ingredients. The inevitable result is the practice of dual supervision" *See* Arthur W. Macmahon, *Delegation and Autonomy*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1961, p 28

[49] *See* Marshall E Dimock and Gladys Ogden Dimock, *Public Administration*, Toronto and New York, Rinehart & Co, 1954, p 131.

[50] A United Nations Study Team also agrees that an integrated system of field organization is more conducive to field co-ordination of the functions of technical departments than a multiple system of field organization *See* United Nations, *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes*, New York, United Nations Technical Assistance Programme, 1959, p. 18

this pattern of supervision is incompatible with the co-ordinative concept itself, for the District Officer is not a mere *primus inter pares*, nor are district heads of technical departments his co-ordinates and equals The District Officer, under the arrangement, is indeed elevated to the pedastal of a boss, and co-ordination is reduced to subordination. Does he not, it is asked, initiate the confidential character rolls of all district heads of technical departments, make comment on their tour programmes, forward their applications, for casual or regular leave, make field inspections of their departmental performance, and do similar other departmental performance, and do similar other things? And, thirdly, it is alleged that the pattern of supervision is productive of friction, divided loyalties and even hostility and militates against the principles of unity of command Are not technical officers responsible, from a technical point of view, to their departmental superiors?

Under the dual type of supervision, the District Officer represents general supervision and development officers represent functional specialization. Co-ordination can, therefore, be ensured when both recognize and respect the contribution of the other, and the organization as a whole is animated by a sense of collective responsibility and good team—play to achieve the common end Functional specialities have to be treated as reflecting basic divisions in knowledge, skill and capacity of individuals. Administrative supervision has to observe its natural limitations by not substituting itself for a functional speciality in an area wherein the latter is presumed to have technical excellence. Indeed, co-ordination has "very little to do with control and supervision by a captain over the members of the team".[51] Its concern is both functional unity and functional autonomy. Therefore, the element of supervision and control inherent in co-ordination of development programmes should not seek to realize the former at the cost of the latter. Its concern is to strike a mean between the two: it is not "power-over"; it is "power-with, a jointly developed power, a co-active, not coercive. This can be realized by depersonalizing the giving of orders, by uniting all concerned in the study and discovery of the law of the situation, and by securing two-way communication—upward and downward.[52] Co-ordination, therefore, means "spirited joint effort" emerging from "dedication to the achievement of common goals and from

[51] B Mukerji, *Community Development in India*, Calcutta, Longmans, 1961, p. 136.

[52] *See* Henry C Metcalf and L Urwick, eds , *Dynamic Administration, the Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follet*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1940, p 58 and p 101. *See* also John M Pfiffner and R V. Presthus, *Public Administration*, New York, Ronald Press Co , 1953, pp 198-199. "Co-ordination" Tead says "is best assured where representatives of functional groups which are directly affected by or are involved in carrying out new policies are parties to the decision reaching process". *See* Tead, *op. cit*, p. 183.

respect for one another's contribution".[53] It stands for "correlation", involving "agreement and parallel action without force or power".[54] In this scheme, the District Officer cannot pride in asserting his individual will. He has to create a group power rather than express a personal power. For this, he needs a quality of mind called "empathy" supplemented by "a cultivated sense of discipline which alerts the minds to choices and implications and at the same time does not shut the door to alternatives".[55]

In the scheme of field co-ordination of development programmes, the District Officer is the leader of the extension team, and, as such, he has to know enough of the technical facts to appreciate the difficulties of the functional side and to help them from the broad operational point of view. He needs accordingly to have a complete picture of the administrative and operational situation and to possess some of the skills of the Village Level Worker. His success as leader will depend upon his ability to create an atmosphere of warm human relations and of confidence and to break down barriers of jurisdiction and walls of status consciousness. That this ability is painfully lacking requires no proof. It has to be remembered that his attitude to his colleagues is an index to his attitude to people in general. His leadership role has to be utilized for mobilizing, organizing and managing men, and understanding "the social dynamics" of local community groups. This calls for special view-points, training, orientation and "social skills" [56] Have our District Officers the requisite aptitude, time and facilities to undergo the needed training and education to acquire these skills and qualities? The answer is not in the affirmative.

The District Officer is hard pressed for time, the fact which obstructs meaningful co-ordination at the district level. It is estimated that he is compelled to spend 11 to 12 hours per day on manifold and variegated items of district work.[57] An official so deeply immersed in the welter of routine of day-to-day administration and so badly distracted by scores of miscellaneous duties on his hands will have

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[53] *See* United Nations, *Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes, op cit.*, p. 43.

[54] Howard W. Beers, *Relations Among Workers in C. D. Blocks*, Mussoorie, National Institute of Community Development, 1962, p. 8.

[55] J. Ahmad, The Expert and the Administrator, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1959, p. 25.

no time to deal with the affairs of the district with a creative, alert and vigorous mind. He will most certainly tend to be an "expression" rather than remain "the most exposed administrative figure". Despite a full complement of officials appointed to help him in all sectors of his work and to share his burden of routine administration, his workload has progressively increased. This speaks volumes for the faulty delegation at the level of the District Officer. In the field of development duties, in particular, he is given the assistance of a District Development Officer—an officer of the rank of Additional Collector. This high-placed official is in charge of correspondence relating to development work, inspects the office and work of Block Development Officers and Village Level Workers in the district. And, to all intents and purposes, he is functioning as a mere channel of advice to the District Officer leaving the responsibility of decisions of any consequence to the latter. He refers all important files to the District Officer for orders and has no powers to correspond with the Commissioner or the State Government without his approval. It is obvious, therefore, that an officer of the experience and status of the District Development Officer is not being put to proper use. Indeed, this assistance has not resulted in reducing the workload of the District Officer to a purposeful extent in the absence of meaningful delegation. No wonder, the District Officer has little time to cultivate insight into and understanding of the broad conspectus of development programmes, and to exercise imaginative faculty as well as constructive leadership role which are life-blood for field co-ordination of development programmes.

Perhaps, yet another important factor responsible for adding to his difficulties as an area co-ordinator is the unwieldy size of districts in Bihar. The average population of a district in Bihar is 27,32,757, which is the largest in the whole of India; and the average area of a district is 3,953, square miles which is large enough when compared with the average area of districts in other States.[58] Indeed, some districts have as many as 40 development blocks, Gaya having 46. This acts as a great limitation on his competence as a field co-ordinator, tying him to desk work for most of the time and preventing him from holding informal consultations and undertaking required number of inspection tours. It was this realization which prompted a special officer appointed by the Government of Bihar to recommend reduction of the size of districts and sub-divisions in 1949.[59] A joint Central Team on Agricultural Production came to the same conclusion in July 1965,

[58] For detailed analysis of the size and population of Bihar districts and their effect on the workload of the District Officer, see *ibid*, Chapter 7.

[59] N. Baksi, I C S, examined the question of redistribution of the present administrative boundaries of districts and sub-divisions in Bihar in 1948-49. The report is not published.

and suggested that "the number of blocks in each sub-division may be restricted to five, and three sub-divisions may constitute one district. This means that each district will have 15 blocks."[60] The Team felt that viable districts and viable sub-divisions will enable officials to devote more time to development work and will make the District Officer a more effective co-ordinator in his area

This system of area co-ordination will most certainly be subjected to crucial tests with the introduction of the Panchayati Raj Scheme in Bihar. Development functions which have so far been performed by the extension agency in development blocks will be entrusted to the Panchayati Raj bodies, and the measure in which the District Officer influences their decisions will be determined by the soundness of his advice, his ability to inspire confidence, his power of persuasion and his reputation as a conscientious, upright and far-seeing administrator. His new role in Bihar will be that of a promoter and occasionally of a corrector rather than that of a director of development programmes and of Panchayati Raj. This will absorb a large part of his time and will constitute an important aspect of his duties, calling for a new attitude of mind and a novel method of work

However, even under the Panchayati Raj Scheme, he will have to ensure that all government employees—both generalists and specialists—connected with Panchayati Raj extend to it their unstinted support and allegiance and that the administrative machinery is streamlined and co-ordinated He will still be responsible for promoting teamwork and morale in the development administration, and for keeping it free from corruption and partisan influences He will continue to ensure co-ordination of programmes falling in the local and State sectors and to watch carefully that they are in conformity with the national policies and the State Plans. His role as co-ordinator in respect of execution of development programmes will remain largely unimpaired in Bihar, though his role in their formulation and planning will become mainly consultative.[61]

CONCLUSION

The pattern of co-ordination of development programmes at the district level is in conformity with and an extension of the system of

[60] Mimeographed copy of *Preliminary Report of the Joint Central Team On Agricultural Programme* on its visit to Bihar during July 8-12, 1965, Chapter II

[61] The State Government has issued various circulars defining the duties and functions of officers of both general and technical hierarchies who are to work with and under the Panchayati Raj bodies *See* Panchayati Raj Circular No 15, Notification No 1627, dated the 2nd March, 1964; Panchayati Raj Circular No. 16, letter No 1629, dated the 2nd March, 1964, Panchayati Raj Circular, No. 17, letter No. 1557, dated 26th February, 1964, and Panchayati Raj Circular No 20, letter No 11057, dated 17th, August, 1964.

field co-ordination developed and systematized during the British rule in India. Over a period of years, the district emerged as the standard area of field co-ordination and the District Officer as the pre-eminent area co-ordinator of the activities of various special or technical departments operating therein. He stimulated, guided and co-ordinated their activities in a rather ill-defined and vague manner, and had no formally defined power of control and supervision. Nevertheless, he wielded sufficient influence so as to be able to reconcile the operations of such departments with the welfare of the people and the needs of the area.

With the inauguration of development programmes, old, informal methods of co-ordination have been consolidated and clarified, new methods, particularly, institutional ones, have been incorporated with the old ones, and a structural arrangement based on the system of dual supervision has been devised to meet the requirements of the development administration. The District Officer has been made responsible for co-ordinating the activities of the heads of various development departments in the district. The organizational and professional or technical control over them is exercised by their departmental superiors, and the functional control in non-technical matters is exercised by the District Officer. He is aided in his task of co-ordination by his direct responsibility for the success of the programmes, his power of sanction, and administrative approval, his power of comments on the work and conduct of technical officers and his chairmanship of various committees in the district concerned with development work. This has served to make him the leader of the extension organization, charging him with the duty to promote the morale of its members, to eliminate inter-departmental differences and to see to the timely, speedy and efficient execution of development programmes.

This pattern of co-ordination is based on the theory of dual hierarchy or dual supervision, and assumes a dual line of supervision from the top down and a dual set of loyalties from the bottom up. It involves reconciliation of the horizontal responsibilities of the area co-ordinator with the vertical responsibilities of the functional specialists Under this system, the responsibility is jointly shared by officers of technical departments and the co-ordinating area specialist. The task before the District Officer is to emphasize the common purpose of the extension organization and to enable it to carry on its operations in the most productive way possible to realize the purpose. It is his duty to be "the front man", to bring about necessary adjustments, to discover common threads and to work out desirable solution. Favourable human relations in such an organization are prompted by a

democratic environment with free and fearless exchange of views among its members. After all, the objective is not a mere collection of the performance of various developmental agencies involved in it. There is a common goal to be achieved. Co-ordination, therefore, cannot mean formal collaboration. Here the emphasis has to be on mutual appreciation of each other's role and on establishing formal administrative arrangements and informal consultative devices which allow maximum of two-way communication.

Under this system of field co-ordination, the District Officer has to possess understanding, sympathy and a receptive and creative mind. He needs to have willingness and ability to give the right lead and helpful guidance. He must be neither autocratic nor paternalistic and must be endowed with "social skills" so as to foster teamwork and morale in the development administration. This calls for the acquisition of new attitudes, new habits of mind and a desire for self-development on the part of the District Officer through special training courses, through advanced education for higher administration, and through provision of incentives.



CO-ORDINATION OF DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAMMES AT THE BLOCK LEVEL

K. Seshadri

SCOPE AND METHOD OF APPROACH

THIS article confines itself to an examination of the problem of co-ordination at the block level and references to district are incidental. The exclusion of the district as a unit for co-ordination in this study is governed not only by the obvious reason of avoiding unwieldiness but also by the existing "laws of the situation" of the Panchayati Raj administration. To be more explicit, it is the block and not the district that has been accorded a place of preference as the most suitable areal unit for plans of development.[1] The first part of this article will deal with the physical suitability of the blocks as they have been carved out. A contrasting study of the suitability of the districts, as they have historically evolved for purposes of co-ordination is no irrelevant in that context.

The hypothesis that is put forth and will be tested is that the blocks as they are formed today, *viz*, on the principle of a declared area and population (400 square kilometers and 66,000 respectively) is not sound and effective. For maximizing the socio-economic development of the rural areas and for bringing about a meaningful political participation of the people, a properly conducted physical survey of the country has to be made and the blocks should be subsequently delimited so that the division would conform to certain well accepted principles of areal arrangement. Such a scientific division would not only facilitate proper co-ordination but also eliminate the need for constant redistributions giving rise to allegations of gerrymandering. What militates apparently against such an elaborate survey is the inordinate delay which might try the patience of eager reformers and politicians. Another factor may be the near impossibility of satisfying all the principles of scientific demarcation and the ensuing stalemate which might appear worse than somehow getting on with the task even if the delimitation is patently haphazard. This attitude is vindication of the general "muddling through" that characterizes

[1] India, *Report of the Study Team for Community Development and National Extension Service* (Chairman. Balvantray Mehta), Committee on Plan Projects, Vol I, p 9.

an unplanned administration. It has to be demonstrated that such a scientific demarcation would better facilitate co-ordination than a haphazard division.

In the second part of the article, the concept of co-ordination is examined in all its implications keeping in view that co-ordination is only a means and that there is a constant need to change the means whenever new challenges have to be faced. Co-ordination is a measure of managerial talent and administrative competence. It is also a test of the spirit of purposefulness that imbues all those working in an organization. In the developmental context a ritualistic institutional device wherein all the officials work in monotonous harmony is not co-ordination as contemplated here What stimulates development is not sheer orderliness and smooth functioning that would degenerate into bureaucratic stagnation but an organic unity of activities and ideas that would keep pace with the tempo of change Co-ordination calls for a creative and dynamic capacity to develop among the personnel the ability to focus their attention beyond their narrow limitations and preoccupations to a general perspective of the developmental aim as a whole. This needs not only an organizational structuring of the personnel and their relations but also a distinct state of mind or rather a distinct change of mind among the various participants in the endeavour. There has to be brought about a psychological atmosphere in which departments do not jealously guard their own interests as well as their own personnel as if they were their exclusive possession but also subserve their departmental prestige and position to the common goal. Every actor in the administrative unit has to remember that his specialistic skills are relevant only within the general aims of the organization.

In the light of the above formulations the task of co-ordination in the developmental blocks will be examined without just confining to the problem of the services but embracing all other substantial issues involved It is submitted that an examination of the problem confining oneself to the task of bringing about co-ordination among the extension services *inter se* and between the Block Development Officer and the Extension Officers, results in viewing the problem with blinkers. The plea herein advanced is that in addition to the administrative services there are various actors and other group of actors whose part has to be integrated in the general scheme. This requires a free flow of communication down, up and across so that information relevant to different groups is constantly made available.

If there is substantial agreement on this basic understanding of the problem of co-ordination, we may proceed towards examining the

means by which such co-ordination can be most fruitful. The hypothesis that is put forth is that unless the various governmental agencies and other non-governmental organizations together with the communities as a whole do not move in concert the purpose of co-ordination has not been achieved. For this movement a general psychological atmosphere has to be created and a metamorphosis among the officials has to take place. This can be done by proper utilization of mass communication media and adoption of techniques devised by cybernetic thought. Proper in-service training and orientation courses have to be provided to the officials at every level and at regular intervals so that they do not rust in their static positions and rest on their apathetic oars. There has to be institutionalized exchange of ideas, information and data between officials and academic bodies. All these problems connected with the education and dissemination of ideas and charging the officials and non-official leaders with a spirit of dynamic purposefulness are intimately connected with co-ordination.

PRESENT DELIMITATION OF "BLOCKS" AND AN EXAMINATION OF THEIR SUITABILITY FOR CO-ORDINATION

Whether a country chooses to decentralize its administration or to centralize it, it ought to have various administrative divisions or "Areas" depending upon the extent, capacity of the administrative services, population, means of communication, physical features and other factors peculiar to different regions. Adequacy of administrative services with technical skill to undertake developmental tasks, and the existence or need for good means of communication and transport "to span, not only the physical distance, but also the centuries which often separate the rural areas from the capital of ideas, values and patterns of living"[2] are dependent upon the level of advancement and the potential capacity to advance. These are also factors that can be consciously increased by education, expenditure and external assistance, etc. These may be deemed as variables. Other physical features like the nature of the terrain including the rivers, the hills, the nature of the soils are all factors that cannot be changed at will and to that extent are the rigid "givens". In addition to these two are the sociological factors that would include the customs, mores and traditions of the people, the language they speak, the religion they may profess, the groups (ethnic or caste) to which they belong and hence these call for distinctive treatment.

[2] Henry Maddick, *Democracy, Decentralization and Development*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1963, p 18.

All these are only illustrative of the complexities that confront an areal administration and are by no means exhaustive and these are all elaborated here to bring into clear focus the need for a thorough and searching survey before an area is demarcated as an "Area" for introducing a service. The fact that there are different districts for railways, posts and telegraphs, excise, revenue, etc., not only in this country but all over the civilized world shows clearly that there are different criteria for demarcation of units and such demarcations cannot be arbitrary. It also demonstrates that a particular division that was suitable for a particular function may not be suitable for another. "Despite these difficulties, composite areas based on a multiplicity of factors have been defined by regionalists."[3]

The blocks have been created for the purposes of introducing community programme and planning. These are new concepts and new services which were hitherto unknown under the foreign dispensation. Needless to say that for the implementation of these programmes, the planners visualize and solicit the maximum participation of the people. "The people" here does not mean some inchoate masses in the country but a clear community of people living distinctively in particular areas each differing from the other in its requirements and capacities but yet forming an integral part of the kaleidoscopic national pattern. People who were thought of as one huge mass of inchoate humanity during the struggle for Independence began to appear in different divisions and sub-divisions, into groups and sub-groups as the country embarked upon improving the socio-economic conditions. Not only do people differ from state to state but even within the state there are again differences between districts and districts and even within districts there appear still finer distinctions. As S M Gaus puts it: "As a nation reaches stability, the sectionalizing influences would tend to mould society to their separate conditions in spite of all countervailing tendencies towards national uniformity."[4]

When areas are contemplated three distinct features can be observed that have to be reckoned as shaping the character of the area. The features like transport, communication, administration and the educational facilities that could be introduced by the human agency form the first category. Secondly, the physical and geographical features which cannot ordinarily be changed except through gigantic engineering programmes Thirdly, the sociological factors that cannot be easily changed without tensions. The caste-identification, the group-identification and such other factors may either act as limiting factors

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[3] James W Fesler, *Area and Administration*, Drawer, University of Alabama Press, 1953, p 3

[4] S. M Gaus "Reflections on Public Administration", Drawer, University of Alabama Press, 1948, p. 65.

or as catalysers which without undergoing any radical change themselves might promote change in the economic development of society.

The social change that is sought to be brought about through socio-economic planning, physical planning and community organization is to "create in the rural population a burning desire for a higher standard of living and the will to live better".[5] It is relevant here to examine the following two questions:

(*a*) Does the delimitation of the blocks as they have been done conform to the principles of planning, and

(*b*) Do the people living in these blocks feel that they are in common areas of living and as a result of such sense of commonness participate in the community activities?

At the outset it may be pointed out that there is not adequate empirical evidence to answer the second question either in the affirmative or negative. We reject unhesitatingly the routine reports submitted by the officials to their departmental chiefs even though there does not exist anything better than those to measure the people's participation. Official reports tend to cloud the weaknesses and exaggerate the benefits Even with politicians including Pandit Nehru the success of community development and Panchayati Raj was such an article of faith with them that none was unsympathetic enough to mention "some ugly misgiving or some awkward contradiction".

There are very few academic studies on this question since most took it for granted and examined other problems based on the presumption that the delimitation of the blocks has been done according to unquestionable principles or that there is no other way of delimiting them except in the way they have been done After all, a particular area and particular population have been fixed as the standard for delimiting the block and there appears no justification to rake up this matter again. Hence the physical aspect of planning has been for ever relegated to the background never to be brought to the fore again. These lines are also written with absolutely no illusions that it would be agitated at all.

When it suited the State Governments changes were sought to be brought about in the delimitation. For example in the State of Andhra Pradesh an official High Power Committee (with the Chief Secretary as the Chairman) was constituted to go into the question of proper

[5] S.C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958.

delimitation of the block. It recommended certain changes and in accordance with those recommendations an executive order was passed to rearrange certain blocks. Many judicial writs were filed questioning the validity of the executive order and indicating the Government of gerrymandering The Court quashed the executive order issued by the Government [6]

Such constant re-organization may be based upon pragmatism. One may learn by mistakes. But before taking any action that would be of great significance there has to be "(*a*) Definition of the issues (*b*) Analysis of the existing situation (*c*) Calculation and delineation of the alternativeness (*d*) Deliberation (*e*) choice[7] or any other logical and rational sequence of steps. Such premeditation and calculation are the essence of planning and the fact that certain mistakes and unexpected turn of events compel a revision of the plan does not fundamentally alter the need for a properly thought out action. There had been no such attempt when the blocks were delimited.

An attempt, however incomplete, was made by academic men like Beers and Ensminger to examine whether the block is a social system. "Is the block only an artefact of the Government? Will it becomesolid and established or will it be a passing phase in the organization of India's Government? To what extent will it become a social system permanently embedded in the network of the total society of India?[8] They further argue that, "The block was established by action of high government, but fiat does not create a social system The latterexists only when relations have developed among persons in such a manner that the requisite elements can be noted".[9] In conclusion they strike a hopeful note that in the future the block would evolve into a basic unit of local government though at present the sanctions in the new block social system are not strong enough to accelerate change to the speed that planners and leaders decide

It is an unfortunate fact of Indian history that every unit of administration has been created as a government fiat and then by mute and indifferent acceptance of such fiat units of administrative system were developed. Then they become almost sacrosanct and any re-thinking on the subject is treated as an academic exercise. While

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[6] *See* V. Ramachandra Reddy and another V. State of Andhra Pradesh (1965) The Andhra Weekly Reporter, pp. 317-331.

[7] *See* Edward H. Litchfield. "Notes on General Theory of Administration", *Administrative Science quarterly*, Vol. I., No. 1, June 1956.

[8] Howard W. Beers and Dougalas Ensminger, *The Development Block as a Social System, Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol V, No 2, p. 137.

[9] *Ibid*, p. 138.

states could be re-organized, it is difficult to understand why there should be no rethinking on a rational organization of smaller units. This is not to advocate mere experimenting for its own sake. The plea is that there should be "due study and research and thought".[10]

The British, as history tells us, occupied India without any long range view of establishing their empire or introducing their political, legal and educational systems. As the British sway went on expanding, the administration developed in its own chequered manner and provinces were formed without conforming to any established principle. The districts within the provinces also came to be created according to no set standards or norms. The taluqs followed suit. Therefore, the only original units were the villages which enjoyed a historical continuity and fostered community living albeit, the caste system stratified the society. The British administration cannot be blamed for this haphazardness because in those days neither linguism nor economic planning were known and whatever suited the purpose of the administration seemed the only valid reason for these divisions The purpose of the British administration, needless to say, was collection of revenue, maintenance of law and order and defence of the country's borders. After the States Re-organization Commission gave its recommendations the map of India insofar as the States were concerned changed, but the distircts and taluqs remained as they were.

Since the collection of revenue was the main purpose of the British administration and maintenance of law and order was its inevitable concomittant the District Collector became at once the chief of the district for both collection of revenue and maintenance of peace. The Collector in course of time became a unique institution and the pillar of the whole administrative edifice. He was at once the "eyes and ears" of the government and "friend, philosopher and guide" to the people who came under his charge—a Mai Baap syndrome was thus manifested among the Indian community. He also became the "solar orb" round whom the other officials like the District Superintendent of Police, District Medical Officer, District Forest Officer, District Health Officer, District Educational Officer and various others revolved. He became the natural co-ordinator of all the services as the district became the deconcentrated unit housing in its headquarters all the district services and the district court with unlimited civil and criminal jurisdiction. It is a known fact that there exist lots of disparities between district and district in population, area, economic and geographical features. Even communications were not evenly spread thus

[10] S. S. Khera, *District Administration in India*, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964, p. 4

bringing the people of the districts together for either business or social intercourse. The land tenure also differed from district to district in some cases. Long years of forced conformity to this arrangement, despite its irrationality and haphazardness, enabled the bureaucracy to somehow work within the framework.[11] Since each Collector strictly confined himself to his boundaries and never encroached into another's, each district became a small kingdom unto itself, thus giving rise to district loyalties among the people "When territorial areas are delimited so that jurisdictions and services may be clearly distributed, symbolic associations tend to cluster around the self same boundaries. Co-operative sentiments of pride and loyalty, competitive attitudes of jealous rivalry, attach themselves readily to special units".[12] We could witness various cases of district loyalties and district "patriotisms" in every state. The point that is sought to be emphasized here is that the district grew into a recognized historical unit with all the people living in it, owing a sort of an allegiance to it, and the various services, such as they were, functioned on a district-wide basis, co-ordinated by the supreme authority of the district, the District Collector. As S S. Khera has pointed out: "It is truly a mark of its soundness as a viable unit and as a practical mode for the arrangement of public affairs that the district has continued to subsist through the centuries, under very different circumstances and under entirely different forms of government."[13]

It certainly did subsist for centuries due to the fact of its delimitation being of no relevance to the functions that were carried out from the days of its inception to the days when developmental administration, planning a socio-economic change through conscious social engineering were not contemplated Different forms of government did come and go but none of them did materially change the core of sub-human living for the generality of the people. Hence the viability of the district has to be examined in the new revolutionary context of purposeful planning on which the country has embarked today. That the district was a sound unit during Akbar's time in a small strip of his territory in North India is no argument to validate it for the whole of India in the twentieth century dedicated to change.

So, whether this system worked well or ill was of no consequence to an irresponsible law and order administration What is relevant

[11] The Simon Commission (1930) also recorded that "the system has some roots in the past. Akbar for instance, subdivided all Bengal into Sarkars. But until the establishment of British rule, there never existed the settled administration, discipline and strong supervision which are essential if single official be placed in charge of areas as large as Indian districts and allowed the degree of independence which had been given to the district officer within the limits imposed by law and precedent "

[12] Leslie Lipson, *Great Issues of Politics*, New York. Prentice Hall Inc.

[13] *See* S S. Khera, *op. cit.*, p 4.

to the present quest is after the introduction of planning as an instrument to bring about social change, what factors are to guide the formation of the new units.

The aim of developmental programmes is to reach the people and move them towards achieving the objectives of the plans. Unless the people themselves feel the need for improvement and come forward to take up the responsibility on their shoulders, the country as a whole cannot progress. It is in this spirit that the whole community development movement was conceived in this country as a "method" and alongside this method National Extension Services were created to function as an "agency" through which the plan seeks to transform the age-old backwardness of the rural areas. So, primarily there is need for a concerted and co-ordinated effort of the local manpower—"it should be a people's programme and for this it should embody their needs and aspirations with their sense of priorities as far as possible, should be planned with their maximum participation and should aim at the ideal of community itself both in planning and operation".[14]

It is evident that "In all these respects new unit areas are required differing certainly in character and extent for particular purpose than the existing antiquated administrative units".[15]

A common living in a contiguous area, a general feeling of homogeneity, personal and informal relationships that do not obtain in larger aggregates, common interests and mutually complementary occupations are all factors that characterize a community. For maximization of the people's conscious participation the government services, especially of the developmental sector, should be organized area by area as defined by the community living. The various services acting in a mutually complementary manner as a team would be able to produce greater results in homogeneous communities than a conglomeration of people divided into different areas, enjoying no common interests, having no personal and informal relationships and hence not prepared to put forth concerted effort. A well-knit community organization would itself contribute towards the generation of co-ordination of government services as contrasted with unorganized group of humanity whose interests are varied and perhaps mutually contradictory. The expression of a common and collective felt need would

[14] Iqbal Narain, "The administration of Rural Community Development Programme", Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol. V, No. 3, 1959, p 292.

[15] Robert E. Dickinson, *City, Region and Regionalism*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1952, p. 2.

automatically necessitate the different services to come together in an effort to achieve the common aim. On the contrary, differing and contradictory needs and expressions would throw even the most well organized and co-ordinated efforts into medley of querulous factions

Against this background the district as a unit of developmental administration, for all its historical character and its subsequent acceptance by the people, is too heterogeneous and unwieldy to be suitable units. The question naturally arises—what was the basis on which blocks were formed? It is clear they cannot boast of historical evolution As Beer and Ensminger have rightly pointed out they are a result of "an action of high government"[16] and "is there a body of belief (in knowledge and truth) or is there a cluster of sentiment (feeling) that is unique to—or at least generally associated with a block?"[17] Except that the blocks are smaller in size and population than the district, are there any positive and intrinsic reasons that mark out the block as eminently suitable for consideration as a unit for planning? They are after all component parts of the original districts which are themselves irrationally carved out units. The quest is to bring about co-ordination of the services at the district level and at the block level while at both levels there is neither a homogeneity of interests among the people nor community organization.

Any area coming within 400 square kilometers occupied by approximately 66,000 people does not satisfy the necessary condition for co-ordination of developmental services if these do not at the same time exhibit other characteristics detailed hitherto. An examination of characteristics of certain blocks taken at random will illustrate that they are not necessarily so. There are certain blocks wherein a few villages are more or less on the fringes of the urban areas, with people whose interests and occupations are urban These are clubbed with villages which are entirely rural, depending on agriculture and pasture. Such a hotch-potch of villages can by no stretch of imagination be organically brought together and no services can co-ordinate to bring about a uniform degree of development to these different types of communities. Such an area requires atleast two distinct sets of services to play two different roles. A block which is divided by a river over which there does not even exist a bridge to maintain communication between two communities on either side of the river, where there has not been a "felt need" for a bridge cannot be described as a suitable "area". There are certain blocks where a few villages occupied by tribals following their own customs and mores are lumped together with more

[16] Howard W. Beers and Ensminger, *op cit*, p 138

[17] *Ibid*, p. 138.

developed villages. The fact that certain protections and safeguards are given to the tribals does not counter the main argument here against arbitrary delimitation.

Examples of such ill-assorted areas can be given in plenty and as submitted earlier, the only argument in favour of such arbitrary and haphazard delimitation of the blocks is that there would be no time to survey the whole country to mark out areas and it is also very difficult to satisfy all standards prescribed for proper delimitation. This has resulted in a peculiar paradox of planless areas being subjected to planning As long as the areas were functioning as units for revenue collection and for providing law and order and such other primary services the haphazardness was not highlighted. But "The dramatic expansion of the scope of governmental activity has strained the traditional patterns of areal distribution of authority. The patterns, therefore, call for reassessment with a view to improving efficiency in the discharge of individual governmental functions, assuring effective co-ordination of these functions in each area within which men live, work and play, and reinvigorating popular control of both elected and appointed government officials".[18]

The Balwantray Mehta Team was conscious of the wide disparities between block and block. They rightly pointed out:

> "The variation in the geographical conditions between the various states in often common knowledge. But the variation between different blocks in the same state is often not noticed.. .The land features and the crop economy of the blocks also vary in the same manner".[19]

What the Team fails to notice is that within each block itself there is such a variation in physical features, crop pattern and other factors that bring people under common living.

This unplanned arbitrary delimitation of blocks, therefore, is one of the biggest limiting factors militating against favourable co-ordination of services among themselves and serviced with the clientele. It is not to satisfy some fad for decentralization that the block is to be constituted, but to efficiently serve as a viable unit for executing developmental plans through proper co-operation between people and the leaders with the officials. Unless the purposes are identifiable and are not at variance with each other, it is impossible to engender proper co-operation.

[18] James W. Fesler, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 and 2.
[19] Balvantray Mehta Report, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 37.

To quote Fesler again "The most profitable co-operation requires a limited number of participants and limited objectives both of function and of area".[20] In heterogeneous areas, such as the present blocks are, it is very difficult to limit the objectives and thus maximize co-operation. The whole defect stems from the almost religious faith in the sanctity of the "districts" and the veneration the District Collector has come to enjoy as an indispensable generalist and co-ordinator *par excellence*—"and is now somewhat in theory or in nostalgic yearning more or less responsible for everything done by government within his geographical areas".[21]

But in point of fact with the tremendous growth of technical skill that has come to bear upon the developmental activity, the area that is bounded by the district limits has become too unwieldy and the revenue collector's position even as early as 1945 "like that of the comic opera policeman" is not a happy one. He is expected to see that nothing wrong happens in his district, but he has little power outside the Magistrate and Collector to see that things go right. He is supposed to compose differences between other officers, but he has no power to impose his will upon the recalcitrant.[22]

While the Collector's prestige among leaders during the Independence movement was at the lowest ebb[23] he staged a gallant come back after the launching of the Community Development movement and developmental schemes, by occupying a key position in the hierarchy of officers responsible for co-ordination of developmental activity. This is not only because of the change in the nationality of those who composed the services but also because of a real change in attitude that was meticulously implanted and fostered. No other officer of the older order has adjusted himself, by and large, so well as the District Collector to the new responsibilities and duties devolving upon him. But this is entirely different from saying that the Collector's traditional duties of maintaining law and order and collecting revenue automatically make him capable of supervising and co-ordinating developmental activities as well. The fact that the Collector comes under the direct supervision for revenue matters under the Board of Revenue and under the Chief Secretary as a representative of the State Government ought to relieve him from the developmental work The institutional arrangement in some States to call the Chief Secretary as a Development Commissioner is also a half-hearted measure that tries to cover up a

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[20] James W. Fesler, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

[21] Paul Appleby, Report, 1953.

[22] *See* the Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee Report, 1945.

[23] *See* Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, *An Autobiography*, London, Bodley Head, 1955, pp. 443-446

the very existence of the project. The mobilization of the necessary human resources, their fitness for the tasks and their commitment, are all considered essential determinants for the effectiveness of a technical assistance project. They provide the needed human skills for country development and create a favourable psychological climate. In this context, it is seldom sufficient to say that a project is concerned with increasing the applied skills of a specific number of persons who participate in training programmes. Rather it is concerned with increasing the level of competence of all the staff performing specialized functional tasks in the field of the project and, furthermore, with the provision of and adequate understanding of the effects of new skills.

But is the only purpose to enable individuals perform specialized, functional tasks? Not alone. Though the transfer of skill has been considered as an essential step forward, in this transfer it is the human being and not the technique as such that has become the centre of attention. Generally, the human being and his efforts rather than the objectives of the technical assistance project, however well thought out, determine whether it will contribute to or retard country development. His views of society play an important role in shaping his reaction. As Prof. Alain Touraine, Head of the Laboratory of Industrial Sociology in Paris, observes, "If he sees society as a set of conflicting interests with himself rigidly separated from those 'on top' and excluded from power, strong resistance to change is likely. If on the other hand, he believes in progress—and more specifically in technological progress as a means of advancing society—he is more likely to have a receptive attitude towards change in the workshop since it offers him the possibility of improving his standard of living".[9]

In the articulation of manpower requirements the main effort is to translate the goals of the development plan in terms of propositions for the number and types of skills required in the field of the project. Because of the relatively longer gestation period in educational efforts, only manpower requirements that have been foreseen sufficiently in advance can be fulfilled. The essential point, as Balogh has observed, is that such planning "must start with a rather detailed plan of socio-economic development".[10] And he continues, "In particular such a perspective plan must embrace a serious politico-sociological study of the problem of how, and how far,

[9] "Overcoming Resistance to Technological Change", *The OECD Observer*, October, 1965, p 11.

[10] "Education and Economic Growth" XVII *Kyklos*, 1964, p. 269.

traditional educational patterns had contributed to the failure of social and economic progress in the past. Such a study is the essential basis of all educational planning. It must discover whether the attitudes which are hostile to economic progress have been the result of a specific structure of education, and what modifications of that structure are needed to obtain a new approach to the technical requirements, in terms of knowledge and training, of accelerated economic expansion".[11]

The Organizational Patterns

It is assumed here that the effectiveness of a technical assistance project depends on adaptations in the organizational setting and the creation of concrete systems of action designed to absorb the new specific and limited functions brought about by the project. It has often been observed that the existing organizational structure may fail to provide a proper framework for the project. The machinery of government inherited from colonial times may not be fully adapted to developmental momentum. For that matter, neither the machinery inherited from an independent government which was not interested in development. In contrast with the *status quo* geared to the maintenance of the established order, the changes in the organizational structure must now respond to new problems and new priorities. In the Mediterranean countries, for example, in the words of a FAO report, "The absence of stronger and better-co-ordinated civil services had been, therefore, an important factor in limiting the effectiveness of government action in this region. Development plans, however well conceived, could not be translated into effective action, because the administration could not provide the necessary impetus."[12]

In country development, teamwork and interdependence are the order of the day. The easy simplicity of this proposition, however, is deceptive There are many problems which impede progress towards teamwork and interdependence. Since significant organizational changes ordinarily refer to interpersonal relationships, they are usually more complex and difficult to obtain than are technological changes. They must establish a proper system of incentives for abilities, performance and acquisition of skill. Furthermore, since these changes involve redefinitions of organizational purpose and new functional relationships, as well as a new locus of

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[11] Kyklo, *op. cit*, pp 269-270

[12] *FAO Mediterranean Development Project: A Study and Proposals for Action*, Rome, Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 1959, p. 40.

bureaucratic and political power, the assimilation of organizational change which the project brings will inevitably cause some collusion with traditional routines.

The Technical Assistance Project Officer

The work of the project officer, as that of all professional workers, is unstandardized. No plan of operation can be drawn stipulating explicitly what is to be given and received. The rules that govern his actions are far from extensive, clearly stated or clearly binding. Yet he has an interesting operational ethic of his own which, if more widely understood and developed, could have far-reaching repercussions on the effectiveness of the technical assistance project. The going rationale is that the project officer is responsible to point out to key government staff the effects, for good or ill, which may be expected to follow from alternative courses of action. His concern is with project objectives in relation to the total needs and development effort of the country. In this sense, the processes of change and the demands made are now such that the project officer as a specialist cannot function merely as a specialist. As an Indian delegate has said, "To carry out his duties competently, a member of the United Nations staff should be familiar with the Laws, the economic and social structure, the religion and outlook of the peoples of different regions."[13] Yet however important it is for the project officer to remain in touch with practice and reality, it is difficult for him to claim that he comprehends the inevitable consequences of development forces.

Part of the difficulties arise from a lack of effective communications between government staff and project officer. In view of the highly specialized content of a technical assistance project, some failure of communication is inevitable. When, however, key government staff and the project officer join in a working partnership and have established rapport, it becomes a good deal easier to bring about the kind of changes which are part of the project. In reviewing together the existing situation, problems and goals, possible courses of action emerge.

Conclusion

In development administration the question of integration of the technical assistance project in the processes of country development

[13] United Nations, Dec A/C5/SR 792, Nov. 16, 1960, pp. 181-182.

is important for achieving true breakthroughs. This is because a technical assistance project is meaningful only as it relates to the development effort. However, no impressive model has been developed yet. Akin to this is that without making the distinction between absolute and comparative success or failure, we are not in a position to know how effectively integration can be achieved in actuality or how to ascertain the consequences for development administration of receiving or not receiving technical assistance in a particular field As weights vary with project and situation, we need to seek more complete information. Since different projects strive toward different goals we need perhaps to search for diverse criteria of effectiveness based on a realistic appreciation of each project's own special situation. Without exploring alternatives and adjusting levels of aspirations and needs of the country in the light of potentials, means and even costs, the matter becomes somewhat ambivalent. But unless the options are properly faced by the developing country itself, maximum benefit from a technical assistance project will not be forthcoming. Whether or not the project brings the positive consequences of which it is capable depends upon those who shape the direction and effectiveness of the development effort—planners, government staff, political leaders.

III

The issues which the technical assistance project thrusts in development administration embrace some of the assumptions upon which its effectiveness rests. Although it is difficult to know what precise propositions hold generally true in development administration regarding technical assistance in different cultural contexts, it is probably reasonable to suggest that:

(1) A technical assistance project is a focus, not a substitute for the decisions, actions and changes that responsible government staff must make.

(2) The determination of goals of a technical assistance project being a function of government cannot be done independently of an assessment of means available for their realization and without being imbued with the ultimate goals that country development seeks.

(3) If it is possible to achieve a kind of consciousness of what a technical assistance project is aiming at, its goals are likely to take the form of continuously emerging and even rediscovered in the light of the shape things take. They will be progressively modified in the course of facing alternative possibilities and specified as their consequences become evident. New inclinations will frequently be uncovered and the level of aspirations adjusted.

(4) From the start, a technical assistance project must have the character of a living tradition and a tempo of continual approach kept alive by a nucleus of competent people who, being substantially involved, seek novel solutions.

(5) The full utilization of technical assistance project depends on the working out of a practicable system which is best suited to circumstances, on the quality of communications between key government staff and project officers, on changes in attitudes and on the absence of negativistic doubts and mental reservations. Unless there is an attitude towards the project which is free of the static qualities of times past that often have become the test of truth, the tasks of the project officer in reinforcing the development process will be hampered and even arrested.

(6) The content of the advice of the project officer to be effective must be acceptable to decision-makers and be free not only of excessive dogmatism and exclusive attention to narrow project objectives, but also of the danger of excessive compromise in response to diverse pressure.

(7) The measures which the project officer suggests should give a kind of new order in the thinking of key government staff and be related to the capacity of the governmental machinery to provide for the necessary changes and cultural adaptations in a sophisticated way. This is based on the assertion that changes cannot be realized without making far-reaching changes in organization, developing new services and new types of staff, and without releasing creative energies to the development effort.

(8) The discovery and application of new ways depends on the adoption of new attitudes by national leaders. The project is part of a political environment and no realistic appraisal of its achievements and limitations is possible without taking under consideration the complex and sensitive problems of the political environment in which it functions.

(9) The real or imagined benefits and consequently effectiveness of a technical assistance project depend not on the statistical aggregate of activities of the project officer, his activities cannot settle anything, but on the conduct of enough significant officials in the governmental organization who are free to make choices and foresee the consequences of their action or inaction.

(10) A country indisposed to make changes and with a strong preference of forms so rigid that experimentation and change are almost impossible, is not likely to be confronted with issues of development administration. Or, are the issues here more complex and more acute?

CHANGING PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION IN THE DISTRICT*

C. N. Bhalerao

THE development administration in the district plays an important role as an instrument of socio-economic change in Indian rural society. Theoretically, the role of the administration in the Panchayati Raj programme is that of providing technical advice and guidance to Panchayati Raj institutions and executing development programmes. The fundamental approach to be followed in the execution of development programmes is that of community development which seeks to involve the village people in their own social and economic development, thereby making the village masses effective working groups in programmes of national development It is assumed by the authors of Panchayati Raj programme that decentralization of powers and functions to Panchayati Raj institutions will result in the participation of the local community in development programmes which would enable the administration to implement the programmes more effectively. It is outside the scope of this paper to examine whether the present approach to securing popular participation in rural development programme, at the present stage of development, is sound, though this is an important question and needs a more thorough analysis than attempted hitherto.[1] An unrealistic or confused approach to this can undermine the role of the bureaucracy in the initial and important phase of the programme of rural development.

THE SUBSTANTIVE ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

There have been various studies on district administration in India [2] While these studies have drawn attention to various weaknesses of the

* The data from which general conclusions are partly derived in this paper was collected in the course of a field study of "Political and Administrative Change in the States" recently done by the author.

[1] The need for public co-operation, at the present stage of development, has been challenged by Sisir Gupta in "Indian Democracy· What Gives it Stability", *The Economic Weekly*, Special Number, June, 1960 Also *see* W H Morris-Jones, "Democratic Decentralisation: Some Political Consequences," *The Economic Weekly*, Special Number, July 1962 and Samuel P Huntington, "Political Development and Political Decay", *World Politics*, Vol XVII, No 3, April 1965 For an opposite view, *see* Joseph La Palombara, "An Over-view of Bureaucracy and Political Development" in *Bureaucracy and Political Development*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1963

[2] *India, Report on Indian and State Administrative Services and Problems of District Administration*, V T Krishnamachari, Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1962, S S Khera, *District Administration in India*, I I P.A , New Delhi 1960, and *Report of the Administrative Survey of Surat District*, N B Desai, Bombay, Indian Agricultural Society, 1958

that practically the entire rural development programme and its organization presents a picture of confusion. In general, as a result of the considerations which influence the selection of ministers, inter-ministerial conflicts and a lack of communication between field experience and policy-making, the governmental leadership in the development programme has not been able to display a dynamic approach to the problem of rural development. This is clearly evidenced by the adoption of wrong priorities in rural planning and lack of comprehension of the substantive issues involved in development administration.

POLITICIZATION

Recent studies on development administration indicate that the officials are increasingly coming under the political control of the non-officials. The officials are afraid of the non-officials because of the latter's connections with the higher-ups in the party and the power to write annual confidential reports on the officials and to generally manage their transfers. The Block Development and Extension Officers, afraid of their political superiors, tend to conform to the dictates of the non-officials even when they are convinced that it may not be in the public interest to do so. It is observed that the non-officials also tend to interfere with the day-to-day administration of the Panchayati Raj institutions. Further, the factional groups, especially in the Panchayat Samitis, cut across the administration. Some of the officials appear to have become almost full-fledged politicians and are learning to play their "politics" skilfully enough to be free from the harassment of constant transfers or transfers to isolated and unimportant areas and to command good prospects in their jobs. The politicization of development administration is on the increase and is gradually undermining its independence and standards of efficiency and is leading to more and more frustration in the bureaucracy. It is to be noted, however, that this interaction between bureaucracy and politics is making the former less authoritarian and, to some extent responsive to the needs of the society.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND SOCIETY

people could participate in the political decision-making process and development in the district. A large number of existing voluntary organizations at the lower level represent vested interests, are bureaucratic and are characterized by factional politics and do not permit free participation by the individual. The only way to arrest this trend is to activize and democratize the existing, and encourage the growth of new, voluntary organizations in society and build up active channels of communication between the people and administration.[4]

The test of an effective democratic and developmental administration is the extent to which it represents the needs and experience of the rural society and acts as an effective instrument of social change. Some studies indicate that many of the Village Level Workers, the Extension Officers and Social Education Organizers do not possess rural background[5] and are consequently unable to mobilize or catalyze human resources, to motivate the village people and to exercise leadership or even to provide adequate guidance to rural groups. This failure to respond to the needs and desires of the rural community is also due to inadequate technical training and knowledge of the dynamics of community development. It has been rightly emphasized that the basic cause for these shortcomings has been "insufficient understanding and use of social skills in the motivation of village people plus an inadequate understanding of the net-work of human relationships in villages, and the ways by which both technical assistants and administrators can effectively communicate with those whom they seek to serve".[6] The development bureaucracy cannot play much useful role in rural development unless it makes use of proper social skills and motivation techniques. This can be done only when the development bureaucracy and its leadership possess an intimate knowledge of the problems and processes of rural society and are devoted to the tasks of rural transformation.

BUREAUCRATIC CULTURE

Some change is no doubt taking place in the values, outlook and methods of working of the development bureaucracy. The bureaucracy is gradually learning to implement development programmes with the co-operation of the rural people and their representatives ; it is also becoming conscious of its responsibility to the elected representative of

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[4] C N. Bhalerao, "Substantive Forces in Indian Administration", *The Economic Weekly*, October 17, 1964.

[5] Taylor, Ensminger, Johnson and Joyee, *India's Roots of Democracy*, Calcutta, Orient Longman, 1965, p. 628.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 679.

the people. But, beyond this change, the administration does not appear to have undergone any basic changes in its *modus operandi*. Generally the administration functions in a mechanical manner, following more the quantitative criterion of performance rather than the qualitative one. The statistics in terms of tours and visits, amount and materials shown by the officials are impressive but they do not correspond to the quality of performance. Two factors have an important bearing on the mechanical mode of functioning of the administration—the qualities and motivation of the officials and the methods and procedures of the administration. Regarding the first, the State Governments do not appear to have given much thought to the qualities and background required of the development officials, especially at the lower level. It is observed that while recruiting the administrative personnel, such important qualities like initiative and aptitude for social service and social skills are not kept in view. In this connection, a strong case can be made out for the recruitment of trained and devoted social workers and persons with social science background to man important positions in development administration Secondly, the earlier bureaucratic methods and procedures of administration and disregard for the needs and difficulties of the rural masses still continue. The development administration is generally characterized by delay, excessive formalism and paper work, attachment to precedents and rigid procedures and concentration of authority at higher levels resulting in inaction in administration and frustration among the people. The administration is also considerably frustrated owing to lack of a dynamic programme of personnel management and incentives for better performance.

Bureaucratic culture in India thus exhibits four main characteristics Firstly, it is characterized by an impersonal way of operation, rigidly adhering to formal rules, precedents and procedures. Secondly, there is a pervasive sense of insecurity and frustration among the officials. Thirdly, there are barriers of communication between the higher and lower bureaucracy. And fourthly, the bureaucracy does not permit initiative, responsibility, innovation and challenge; in the absence of these qualities, the bureaucracy becomes an obstacle to change. As Prof. Lucian W. Pye points out in regard to Burmese administration, "paradoxically, the logical agents for change seem in many ways to be as changeless as any aspect of a transitional society can be. The very men who should be champions of innovation and initiators of action if the country is to develop are to an alarming degree the victims of immobilism".[7]

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[7] Lucian W. Pye, *Politics, Personality and Nation-Building. Burmese Search for Identity*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1964, p. 213.

POSITION OF THE DISTRICT COLLECTOR

Panchayati Raj programme is undermining more and more the position of the District Collector as the pivot and co-ordinator of district administration in most of the States. On the one hand, the responsibilities of the Collector as District Development Officer have increased, making it difficult for him to effectively administer the development programme of the district along with his law and order and revenue functions. On the other hand, his effective administrative power over development administration has diminished. In short, the Collector today has responsibilities without effective powers. The Collectors are also being subjected to political pressures and influences and are becoming afraid of the politicians in the Zilla Parishad. In a democratic set-up, the Collector has no doubt to be responsible to the representatives of the people; but the point to be noted here is that the nature of political control on the Collector is such that it is undermining his independence, impartiality and effectiveness.

The Collector, like the other development officials, is in search of a new identity and a new image about his role and office. The demands made on his skills and the needed re-ordering of old values and attitudes and the development of new ones are resulting in profound contradictions in his role.

NEED FOR CO-ORDINATION

Sometimes the Block Development Officer is unable to achieve proper co-ordination of work at the Samiti level as some of his Extension Officers join hands with a factional group of the Samiti; in some cases they also oppose the B.D.O. at the level of the district officers. The existence of factions in the Samiti and their alliance with some Extension Officers or opposition to the B.D.O. results in the loss of team spirit and unity of the Samiti administrative staff. Vertical co-ordination, *i.e.*, between the block and district administration, also appears to be considerably lacking. The main reason which accounts for the lack of vertical co-ordination is the dual control exercised on the Extension Officers by the B.D.O. and by the respective technical heads of the district departments. Similarly, the B D.O. is subjected to a dual control—one by the Samiti and the other by the district departments. Co-ordination is not merely a technical function; it also involves harmonious relations and adjustments both between and among the officials and non-officials. Further, co-ordination at the lower level depends upon the degree of clarity and the quality of planning and organization by governmental leadership.

CORRUPTION

With the enormous growth of bureaucracy under Panchayati Raj and the multiplication of administration processes, a vast field has been opened in which the officials can misuse their power, sometimes in alliance with the non-officials. Corruption in the administration is partly due to the low salaries of the officials and partly to the prevalence of ubiquitous corruption at the political level. It is observed that corruption in rural areas tends to assume the character of an unwritten and all-pervasive law of administrative functioning and operates in an organized manner at the lower levels of administration.[8]

A Study Team[9] recently reported that there are serious irregularities in the financial transactions of Panchayati Raj institutions. These irregularities include wrong postings in cash-books, purchases without calling for tenders, non-maintenance of stock-registers, bad maintenance of accounts and unauthorized expenditure. This finding indicates that a good deal of manipulation of finances takes place in Panchayati Raj institutions. It is admitted that the lack of adequate financial resources of Panchayati Raj bodies is one of the major obstacles in the effective performance of their functions But a mere increase in the financial resources of these institutions does not ensure their utilization in public interest An equally urgent need is to make the officials and non-officials more responsible to the people (by spreading education and enlightenment among the rural people and establishing conditions of socio-economic equality) and evolve proper standards and procedures in financial transactions.

Prof Myron Weiner refers to the class of "expeditors" which has emerged in India both within and outside the administrative services and argues that "not all corruption is dysfunctional to the goals of economic development".[10] It is true that the expeditor in a developing society performs functions which are ordinarily performed within the administrative system of a modern society. The problem in a developing society, however, is that such a function by the "expeditor" in administration or politics proves to be extremely disadvantageous for the weaker sections and intensifies economic disparities between the "haves" and the "havenots".

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[8] *See* T N Chaturvedi, "Tensions in Panchayati Raj . Relations between officials and Non-officials," *The Economic Weekly*, May 30, 1964

[9] *India, Report on the Audit of Accounts of Panchayati Raj Institutions*, New Delhi, Union Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, 1965 (unpublished)

[10] "India · Two Political Cultures" in *Political Culture and Political Development* Ed Lucian W Pye and Sydney Verba, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1965 pp. 221-24

STRUCTURAL WEAKNESSES

The characteristics of a sound administrative structure are that it provides for clear allocation of responsibilities, clear accountability and adequate delegation of powers at lower levels. The existing structure of development administration does not appear to possess these characteristics. Recent studies indicate that the officials generally do not fully carry out their responsibilities partly because of the persistent fear that they would be held accountable for any lapses and partly because their responsibilities are diffused. Confusion in responsibilities also arises out of the dual and, in some cases, triple control exercised over the officials. Again, it is found that there is a lack of adequate delegation of powers at the lower level of administration The lower officials do not possess discretion and freedom to deal with the problems faced by them in the field, follow a pattern of functioning indicated at higher levels and are reluctant to "displease" their superiors by exercising their independence and initiative. Thus, the structure of development administration is one which discourages responsibility, delegation and initiative and leads to confusion and poor administrative performance.

We have examined in this paper some of the main features and substantive issues of development administration in the district. The development administration in India is marked by three features. Firstly, it is being heavily politicized and consequently it is losing its independence, impartiality and effectiveness. This, in itself, is not a dangerous trend since a democratic administration must be ultimately responsible to the elected representatives of the people. But here the danger is that the administration may lose its minimum professional autonomy and virtually become an arm of the ruling party Second, there are no active channels of communication between the administration and rural society. And third, though the bureaucracy is undergoing some change in its values and outlook, it is basically of the old pattern and, both in terms of the qualities and background of its personnel and its methods and procedures of working, does not appear to act as a dynamic agent in social change. The utility of the existing development bureaucracy to act as an active instrument of socio-economic change in the rural society will depend upon the operative standards followed by the ruling political party and the emerging political leadership at lower levels, the calibre of governmental leadership, the emerging balance between professional autonomy of the bureaucracy and the political control on it, the calibre of lower bureaucracy and the quality of personnel management programme, the

development of more suitable methods of community development workand the building up of active channels of communication between the administration and society at all levels in the district



CORRESPONDENCE

Report of the Inter-Regional Workshop on Problems of Budget Classification and Management in Developing Countries—A Comment.*

The Editor,
I J P.A.

Sir,

The report, which was a result of the deliberations of the Ninth Workshop—(and the first meeting of a "truly international character"), is a useful one in more than one way. It reviews, for instance, the progress made so far in the field of budgetary reform and particularly in matters relating to the introduction of functional and economic classification, and considers the various ways in which the techniques auxiliary to budget-making and the problem of budget-making itself could be improved so as to subserve the tasks that have come to be devolved on the underdeveloped economies. The tasks that confront the process of budget-making in the context of economic development, such as the complexity and growth of expenditures, the need for tools and classifications that would indicate the true character of the expenditure and are useful in facilitating expenditure decisions, are obvious enough and need no repetition here.

In the context of the immensity of the tasks that lay ahead it is only desirable that definite indications of the lines in which reform is to be carried are given so that they could serve as the guidelines for the underdeveloped countries which are attempting to re-organize their systems. The problems faced by these nations, even if they differ in the matter of detail, are by and large the same. It is, however, necessary to draw a distinction between the budgetary problems and the accounting problems. In each of these areas as has been recognized by the workshop, there are diversities in the systems of the countries and to that extent it would be necessary to evolve solutions which have an applicability to the institutional framework of each country. This is particularly the case in respect of the reforms proposed for Audit and Accounts organizations. It is, however, doubtful whether the same can be said about budget presentation. The alternatives on this front are confined to economic and functional classification and to the introduction of Performance (or programme) budgeting. These solutions are not mutually exclusive but supplementary to each other—each one paving the way for the other. Thus the question of moderating the available solutions to meet the requirements of each country—except in matter of detail such as those relating to classification of functions, activities, and projects—is not likely to be a major one.

The general tone of the report is ambivalent, it appears to be impressed by the existing systems and the attempts that are being made in several countries. At the same time the workshop was also convinced that there is a considerable need for the introduction of new techniques Consequently the recommendations of the workshop would appear to be lacking conviction. What is more some extraneous

* U N. O.: 1964.

issues were brought in to diminish the value of some techniques which have otherwise been well proven It is the attempt to obfuscate the issues at hand and the absence of a conviction that reduces the utility of the report considerably. This may have the effect of the report being ignored altogether by the under-developed countries, and if that were to happen, the very purpose of the workshop would become abortive These contentions are illustrated with reference to some of the points made in the report, in the following paragraphs

In para 27 of the report, it has been pointed out that "Performance budgeting can be interpreted more broadly as any procedure for planning, implementing and reporting both in financial and physical terms and most countries *are already trying to do something of the kind*". It also adds that there was scope for further improvement in this respect. The question of primary importance is whether the attempts so far made or are being made are adequate for the purpose? Presumably the workshop had in view the different targets for outlays, targets and other associated procedures that are being experimented in the planned economies (such as India) when they referred to these aspects. But these efforts, as the report itself indicated in para 38, are not adequate. It has been pointed out therein that general plans of the kind made by several underdeveloped countries hardly provide an operational framework for linking planning and budgeting. It is precisely for this reason that a pointed advocacy in favour of the introduction of Performance budgeting should have been made. The real advantage of Performance budgeting, to reiterate the obvious, is that it brings the physical and financial aspects together. In the absence of such a technique, separate indications of financial and physical targets, however well intentioned they may be, will not have the proper results. Also such separate presentations may create problems of co-ordination and to that extent may introduce distortions in the administrative procedures It has been recognized by the workshop that planning is a "thinking" process while budgeting is a "doing" process. This is an added reason as to why these two should be brought together, and this is facilitated by the introduction of Performance budgeting There are a few more aspects of this issue which require to be recognized here.

In para 54 of the report, it has been stated that the term "Performance budgeting" has given rise to some misgivings arising out of the difficulties of ensuring appropriate physical measurements, and therefore, it might be preferable to call it "Programme budgeting". It is also stated that Programme budgeting's aim would be to promote better formulation of programmes and more effective results. In this connection it may be recalled that the concept of Programme budgeting came to the fore with the recommendations of the Task Force of the 1955 Hoover Commission The experience of Performance budgeting in U.S A. during 1950 to 1955 indicated that the implementation of the technique of Performance budgeting led to some difficulties, primarily regarding the (*a*) classification of Programmes, and (*b*) provision of cost data in respect of many activities. It was with a view to avoiding some of these pitfalls that the system of Programme budgeting which is more concerned with the future, unlike the performance budgeting which is concerned with a review of the past, was suggested by the Task report. The Commission, however, treated

both the concepts as synonymous and recommended the efforts should be made to streamline the classification and other aspects. It also expressed itself firmly in support of the cost based budgets.

Viewed against this background, the technique of Programme budgeting as suggested by the workshop would be nothing more than a presentation technique with its whole focus centering in and around the classification of all aspects of the working of the government into functions, activities and programmes. If the intention of the workshop was only this then the very utility of Performance budgeting would become substantially reduced It is only fair to reiterate that the usefulness of Performance budgeting is in its indication of the past accomplishments, cost of the future programmes expressed both in terms of money and select work-load data and thus being of inestimable value to the Legislature and Management alike. It would appear that these implications were not fully assessed by the workshop before arriving at these conclusions

Another associated aspect requiring consideration relates to the comments of the workshop contained in para 65 of the report. It is stated therein that in the process of installation of programme budgeting care should be taken to ensure the evaluation aspects of each programme. It is also stated that such an evaluation should reflect the true scarcity of the resources employed This function is neither expected nor in fact to be taken upon by Performance budgeting. The technique and process of performance budgeting assumes, both explicitly and implicitly, the selection of certain programmes and projects with reference to predetermined criteria, and does not itself throw up criteria but is content with an appropriate and scientific exhibition of the schemes. Conceptually, therefore, the technique should not be made to deliver goods which are least expected from it. It is necessary to recognize this aspect of the workshop's recommendation in view of the fact that many underdeveloped economies are still skeptical about the validity and utility of the technique and any attempt to overload the concept would only end up in making it less attractive than it originally was.

I would like to refer briefly to a few other aspects of the report. In Chapter III, the report, after a very comprehensive review of the plan and budget procedures, comes to the conclusion that there is no ideal institutional arrangement for establishing a harmonious working relationship between planning and budgeting. The problems discussed in the preceding paragraphs of the chapter, however, relate to the feasibility of annual bedgeting as a part of comprehensive long range budget plan. This indeed is the question that is to be looked into. This, however, is primarily a matter of budget procedure, for the budget is the concrete shape of all developmental plans and should not be linked up with the institutional framework of planning and budgeting, and the merger of the two or the advisory status of the former. In other words since the question is primarily one of procedure it is required to be tackled as such and is not to be mixed up with the form and content of organizations. Purely on a procedural level, an answer for the question of linking up the twin requirements of planning and budgeting, lies in performance budgeting suitably supplemented by different techniques of resource forecasting. Performance budgeting indicates atonce the overall expenditure on projects, the annual

break-up thereof, and the quantitative indication of the results that merge with the targets proposed by the planning authorities Therefore, it serves as the link. A recognition of this aspect would have given a practical shape to the conclusions of the workshop. But somehow it appears to have drifted to the organizational matters.

The underlying approach in the preceding paragraphs is nothing more than to urge a well argued case for the introduction of Performance budgeting. But the report as already pointed out, is halting and hesistant and shows an awareness of the need for reform, as also a stout complacency in that, it has faith in the existing institutional framework. It may be a commitment for the civil servant to support the institutional framework of the country he represents. But any ambivalence on the part of an international organization resulting from the commitments of individual representatives is, perhaps, not likely to take us far.

Yours faithfully,
A. PREMCHAND

New Delhi,
March 25, 1966



INSTITUTE NEWS

At a meeting held on January 11, 1966, the members and staff of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the faculty and students of the Indian School of Public Administration passed the following resolution:

"The Members and staff of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the students of the Indian School of Public Administration place on record their deepest sense of sorrow and grief on the sad demise of Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, the late Prime Minister of India and the President of the Institute. In his passing away, the Institute has suffered an irreparable loss. Shri Shastri had been the Institute's President for about a year and half and was a great source of inspiration and strength. The Institute owes a great debt of gratitude to him for his invaluable services to the Indian Nation in the cause of peace This meeting also offers its heart-felt sympathies and condolence to Smt. Shastri and her family in this irretrievable loss."

* * *

Shri N. V. Gadgil, Vice-chancellor, University of Poona, and the Member of the Executive Coı ncıl of the Institute, passed aw ay on Janu ry 12, 1966. He was a vete-an pat iot, popular leader, learned autho·, an able administrator and was very closely associated with the Institute right from its inception and had made significant contribution to its functioning and progress. A meeting of the members and staff of the Indian Institute of Public Administration and the faculty and the students of the Indian School of Public Administration was held on January 13, 1966 to condole his death.

* * *

The Executive Council of the Institute has approved, at its meeting held on March 18, 1966, the following subjects for the Prize Essay Competition, 1966: (1) Role of State Government in the Improvement of Administration of Urban Authorities. (2) Priorities in Administrative Reforms. (3)Functioning of the Block Development Administration in relation to Agriculture. The last date for receipt of essays is August 31, 1966.

* * *

A preparatory Meeting on Inter-Institutional Seminar on Case Studies, to be commenced in autumn 1966, was held on February 22, 1966.

The subjects discussed at the meeting, among others, included: (1) Use of Case Studies for Training and Teaching, and (2) Case Studies and Administrative Reforms· (*a*) Adapting administrative organization and procedures to developmental and democratic processes, and (*b*) Role of Inter-Institutional collaboration. The Meeting was opened by *Shri D. S. Joshi*, I.C.S , Chairman, Committee on Case Studies, and Secretary, Union Ministry of Commerce.

About forty representatives of government in service training institutions (including those of police and railways), of management institutes and Central and State departments of

administrative reforms attended the meeting.

* * *

The Indian School of Public Administration, in collaboration with the Union Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation, organized a Seminar on "Problems of Agricultural Administration" from March 9 to 12, 1966. The main object of the Seminar was to review recent experience in the planning and implementation of agricultural development programmes and to elucidate the administrative and other prerequisites for the formulation and implementation of a national agricultural policy with speed and efficiency. The Seminar was inaugurated by *Shri C. Subramaniam*, Minister of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation.

The concluding session of the Seminar was addressed by *Shri Asoka Mehta*, Union Minister for Planning and Social Welfare.

* * *

Shri P. S. Naskar, Deputy Minister for Home Affairs, presided over the concluding session of the Third Appreciation Course, organized by Indian School of Public Administration in co-operation with the Department of Administrative Reforms, Union Ministry of Home Affairs, and awarded the certificates to 15 participants who were the officers of the level of Deputy and Under Secretaries in the Central Ministries and officers of comparative level in the State Governments The object of the course was to facilitate a better appreciation of the practical problems and needs of administrative reforms in Government departments at the Centre and in the States.

* * *

The programme for biennial elections of eight members of the Executive Council of the Institute will be as follows:

Despatch of Notice of Election; Electoral Roll as on 31st March, 1966; Nomination Paper; and Authorisation Form	July 7-10, 1966
Last date for receipt of Nomination Papers	July 31, 1966
Scrutiny of Nomination Papers	August 3, 1966
Despatch of Ballot Papers	August 10, 1966
Return of Ballot Papers	August 31, 1966
Counting of Votes	September 3, 1966

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The lectures delivered under the auspices of the Institute, during the quarter January-March, 1966, were as follows:

February 2	"Some Aspects of Administration" by *Shri A P. Gorwala.*
March 14-17	"Public Services—Four aspects" by *Prof V. K N. Menon*, formerly Director of the Institute.



RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

A major development in the field of Indian administration witnessed recently is the re-organization of the Union Ministries. Consequent on the formation of the new Council of Ministers, headed by *Smt. Indira Gandhi*, the following amendments have been made in the Government of India (Allocation of Business) Rules, with effect from January 24, 1966· (1) The Ministries of Civil Aviation and Transport have been merged into a single Ministry of Transport and Aviation, with two Departments, namely, the Department of Aviation, and the Department of Transport, Shipping and Tourism. (2) The Ministries of Food and Agriculture, and Community Development and Co-operation have been formed into a single Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Co-operation; it has four Departments, *viz.*, the Department of Food, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Community Development, and the Department of Co-operation (3) The Department of Company Affairs and Insurance in the Ministry of Finance has been abolished and its subject relating to Insurance allotted to the Department of Revenue in that Ministry, thereby redesignating it as the Department of Revenue and Insurance. The subjects relating to Company Affairs have been allocated to the Ministry of Law under a separate Department known as the Department of Company Affairs. (4) The Ministry of Health has been re-designated as the Ministry of Health and Family Planning, with two Departments, *viz.*, the Department of Health, and the Department of Family Planning. (5) The Ministry of Industry and Supply has been bifurcated into two Ministries, namely, the Ministry of Industry, and the Ministry of Supply and Technical Development. (6) The Ministries of Rehabilitation and Labour and Employment, have been amalgamated. The new Ministry has two Departments: the Department of Labour and Employment and the Department of Rehabilitation. (7) The two Departments under the Ministry of Steel and Mines: the Department of Iron and Steel, and the Department of Mines and Metals, have been converted into two separate Ministries, namely, the Ministry of Iron and Steel, and the Ministry of Mines and Metals. (8)The subjects relating to Village Industries including Khadi and handicrafts, and Ambar Charkha, under the Department of Social Security have been transferred to the Ministry of Commerce, and its subject "Bal Bhavan and Children's Museum" transferred to the Ministry of Education. The Department of Social Security, with the remaining subjects, has been re-designated as the Department of Social Welfare. (9) The subjects relating to Town Planning Organization, Delhi Development Authority, Central Regional and Urban Planning Organization, Improvement Trust, Master Plan of Delhi and development of land declared as "development areas" under the Delhi Development Act, formerly under the Ministry of Health, have been transferred to the Ministry of Works and Housing, which has been re-designated as the Ministry of Works, Housing and Urban Development. (10) The Bureau of Public Enterprises under the Department of co-ordination in the Ministry of

Finance has been transferred to the Department of Cabinet Affairs in the Cabinet Secretariat.

A new Department called the Department of Materials Planning in the Ministry of Supply and Technical Development, which has now been renamed as the Ministry of Supply, Technical Development and Materials Planning has been created. The functions of the new Department of Materials Planning, *inter alia*, will be. (1) Co-ordinated assessment of demands for raw materials, by sectors, industries and large units in relation to particular groups of products and to available capacities (2) Assessment of domestic availability of raw materials, with due regard to the feasibility of import substitution (3) Assessment of requirement of imports of raw materials, with due allowance for inventories. (4) Determination of principles, priorities and procedures, for allocation of raw materials

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As regards the administrative reforms at the Centre, the Commission which was set up on January 5, 1966, has started its work. The Commission invited various heads of institutions, senior Government officials, etc , to discuss the proposals and allotment of the research projects The Commission has also set up various study groups which will make a detailed study in their respective areas

At the State level, the Study Group on Administrative Problems constituted by the Government of Gujarat, in January, 1965, under the chairmanship of *Shri Babubhai J Patel*, constituted three Sub-Groups to study the problems of Revenue, Agriculture and Panchayat Departments comprehensively and to suggest ways and means for their improvement.

In the Revenue Department, the Sub-Group will examine: (1) the adequacy and effectiveness of the administrative machinery as at present organized and operating from State to village level; (2) the present pattern of delegation of powers to officers at district and taluka levels and make recommendations regarding further delegations; (3) the organization machinery available for land reform implementation work, with a view to avoiding delays and failures; (4) the structure of existing land laws relating to jurisdiction of Revenue Courts and Civil Courts; (5) the existing system of settlement of assessment of land used for agriculture with a view to finding out whether it needs revision at the present juncture and if so, how It will also recommend reorganization and reforms in the existing administrative structures, methods and procedure of work and co-ordinating devices.

The Sub-Group on Agriculture Department will report on· (1) the impact of research work in agriculture improvement and in line of communications from State to the village level, (2) the present administrative machinery of Agriculture Department from State to village level and measures for its re-organization, if necessary; (3) the success of the soil conservation programme and measures to make it more popular and purposeful; (4) the use of irrigation potential with special reference to water utilization; (5) measures for increasing agricultural production especially food production, facilitating speedy action and avoiding delays and ensuring better co-ordination and cooperation between the departmental organization on the one hand and other departments and the panchayats of different tiers on the other hand, with special reference to implementation of the Five Year Plans.

The Sub-Group entrusted with the task of examining the Panchayat

Department will review the overall administrative set-up in the State so as to consider changes which have become necessary as a consequence of introduction of Panchayati Raj, especially the following: (1) the position of the District Magistrate/Collector whether he can captain, in true sense, the district offices not coming within the purview of the Panchayat with a view to suceessfully co-ordinating the work of all Government Departments at district level; (2) working of Departments at district and taluka level; (3) relations of different departments above the district level with the Panchayati Raj bodies, and (4) relations between officials working under Panchayat bodies and the elected office holders.

The Administrative Reforms Committee set up by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, under the chairmanship of *Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy*, Minister of Revenue, has submitted its report. The digest of the report appears at the pp. 148—159 of this Journal. Majority of the recommendations from the Report of the Administrative Reforms Committee set up under the chairmanship of *Shri H. C. Mathur*, have been accepted by the Government of Rajasthan. These are, *inter alia*, as follows: (1) The Heads of Departments should ensure internal efficiency and technical performance of their Departments by surprise checks, periodical inspections, review of progress, examination of statistical data, and special work studies that may be conducted from time to time and should take regular action for further improvements. (2) Touring officers should check the arrangements in respect of internal efficiency audit at the time of their tours. (3) The time-limits should be specified for disposal of various kinds of applications, *i.e.*, for loans, licences, refund of security deposits and allotment of land. Strict action will be taken against persons responsible for delaying their disposal beyond the time-limit. A register will also be maintained by the officers concerned in which details about their disposal are mentioned and it will be sent to the Head of the Department for perusal. (4) The professional and technical advice of all departments should be readily made available to the District Collectors as and when required by them and their views should be given adequate weightage and attention by the officers of other departments.

The Government of Madhya Pradesh has, with a view to ensuring economy in expenditure, abolished the posts of Block Development Officers with effect from January 1, 1966, in the Community Development and Tribal Development Blocks, and these officers will be reverted to posts in their parent departments from where they were drafted.

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The State Governments of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Orissa, Rajasthan and West Bengal have issued instructions, to their respective departments, in order to effect economy in expenditure and cutting delay in the Government Departments. These include cuts in contingency expenditure in the current year and budget estimates for 1966-67, holding up implementation of non-plan schemes which have not yet been started and reduction in staff.

With a view to avoiding unnecessary expenditure and delay as a result of carelessness and inefficiency on the part of subordinate officers, the Government of Madhya Pradesh has also decided that the cost of issuing reminders by telegrams, telephones or even sometimes by sending a messenger, will be recovered from the officers who fail to respond to government communications within a

reasonable time. In addition, such other punishments as may be deemed necessary in the circumstances of the case will also be imposed after following the prescribed procedure.

The Government of Rajasthan has delegated liberal powers to Heads of Departments, Additional Heads of Departments, Joint/Deputy Heads of Departments and to the District Level Officers to sanction the Leave (excluding study and disability leave) up to two months to all the Gazetted and District Level Officers working under them provided no substitute is required. Where substitute is needed, leave will be granted by the appointing authority or such lower authority to whom power of transferring officers has been delegated

The Government of Rajasthan has prepared a Suggestions Scheme, coming into force from April 1, 1966, to encourage its employees of all categories to offer suggestions for improvements in office and administrative procedure for effecting economy in expenditure, avoidance of wastage of manpower, preventing leakage of revenue, reducing procedural delay, and maintenance of integrity. The suggestions will be examined by the Departmental Committees headed by the Heads of Departments which would be empowered to sanction awards up to Rs 500 while cases deserving awards for more than Rs. 500, will be sent by the Departmental Committee with its recommendations to the Central Committee, headed by the Chief Secretary. The Central Committee is empowered to make awards up to Rs. 1,000 for individual cases and up to Rs 5,000 a year

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The Government of Rajasthan has decided that the officers of All-India Services allotted to the State and those of Rajasthan State Services will be required to serve at least for a period of two years in any one of the seven difficult districts, *i e*, (1) Banswara, (2) Durgapur, (3) Jaisalmer, (4) Chittorgarh (Pratapgarh Sub-Division), (5) Barmer, (6) Udaipur (Kothra and Jalore parts), and (7) Sawai Madhopur (Karauli Sub-Division) during the first 12 years of their service. A register will be kept by the authorities concerned, mentioning the dates of appointments and transfers, to enable them to know as to when the officer will be completing 12 years of service in Rajasthan.

With a view to curbing the habit of frequent resignations, the Government of Madhya Pradesh has decided that when the vacancies of the Lower Division Clerks, which are likely to last for more than three years, are to be filled, a provision should be made in the contract at the time of appointment that in case the person quits Government service within a period of three years for any reason, he would be liable to pay to Government a sum of Rs 250. Similarly the Government will pay him Rs 250, if he is removed from the service within three years except in the case of specific default after complying with the procedure prescribed in the M P. Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules.

In pursuance of the directives issued by the Government of India, the Government of Mysore has decided that all its employees except in Class IV on their first appointment should furnish information in respect of their close relations who are nationals of other countries or domiciled in foreign countries Any change in the particulars given should be furnished by the employee at the end of each year to the appointing Authority/the Head of the Department where he is employed, and such information will be incorporated in the

Confidential Reports of the persons concerned.

The Government of India has increased the dearness allowance admissible to its employees drawing pay up to Rs. 1,000 p.m. with effect from December 1, 1965, as follows:

Pay Range	Present D.A.	Revised D A
Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
70-109	33	38
110-149	50	58
150-209	65	76
210-399	81	93
400-1,000	90 (With marginal adjustments up to Rs. 1,090).	100 (With marginal adjustments up to Rs (1,100).

The Dearness Allowance at a flat rate of Rs 100 p.m. to its employees drawing pay between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,250 with effect from March 1, 1966 has also been granted by the Centre.

With a view to helping the families of the employee who dies in harness, the Government of India has decided to pay the double benefits available under the Present Family Pension Scheme subject to a limit of half the pay last drawn when the death of a Government servant occurs after seven years of service in order to help the families of its employee It will be paid for a period of 7 years or till the due date of retirement whichever is earlier, and thereafter the family will get the normal pensionary benefits.

Under the present Family pension scheme, a Government servant who dies after a year's service is entitled to a family pension ranging from 30 per cent of pay subject to a maximum of Rs. 150 p.m. in the case of those drawing Rs. 800 p.m and above.

Under the Assam Services (Commutation of Pension) Rules, 1965, the State Government has been authorized to sanction the commutation for a lump-sum payment of any pension which has been or is about to be sanctioned under the Pension Rules provided tha : (1) the expenditure can be met from the sanctioned budget grant; and (2) the uncommuted residue of the pension shall not be less than Rs. 240 per annum. This commutation will be limited to one third of the pension in case of Government servants governed by the new Liberalized Pension Rules of 1954, and to one half in the case of Government servants outside these Rlues.

The Government of Maharashtra has liberalized the Revised Pension Rules, 1950 as follows. (1) The maximum amount of superannuation, invalid and compensation pension has been increased from Rs. 6,750 to Rs 8,100 per annum (2) The maximum limit of pay for the purpose of death-cum-retirement gratuity has been raised from Rs. 1,500 to Rs. 1,800 per annum, with a ceiling of Rs. 24,000 on the total amount of death-cum-retirement gratuity. (3) Under the New Family Pension Scheme, 1964, persons are at present required to surrender a portion of gratuity where admissible, equal to two months pay subject to a maximum of Rs. 3,000. This limit has been raised to Rs. 3,600 with effect from January 1,1964.

The Government of West Bengal has introduced a Family Pension Scheme for all its regular employees on pensionable establishments—temporary or permanent—who were in service on April 1,1965,or are recruited

thereafter. It will be admissible in the case of death, while in service or after retirement, but in case of death while in service the employee must have completed a minimum period of three years of service. The monthly pension will be administered as follows: For employees getting Rs. 800 or above, 12 per cent of the pay subject to a maximum of Rs. 96 and a minimum of Rs. 60; Below Rs 200, 30 per cent of pay subject to a minimum of Rs. 20, For this purpose, the family of the officer will include wife-husband, minor sons, unmarried minor daughters and dependent parents

The Government of Mysore has decided to grant relief to the families of its employees, who die while working in their office or on tour or on inspection, for meeting expenditure in connection with the performance of obsequies or the transport charges of the body. The amount not less than Rs 50 and not more than Rs 300, having due regard to the circumstances of each case, will be sanctioned by the Head of the Office on production of a death certificate given by the attending doctor, if any, at the time of death and where there is no such doctor, a statement of circumstances and reasons resulting in the death duly authenticated by the Head of the Office

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With a view to rationalizing the structure of the Railway Medical Service and its pay scales, the Railway Board has revised the pay scales of all categories of doctors, with effect from January 1, 1966, as follows: (*a*) The category of Assistant Surgeons (Class III) has been abolished and all Assistant Surgeons will be in the scale of Rs 350-25-50-30-590-EB-30-800-EB-30-830-35-900 and designated as Assistant Medical Officers (Class II) excepting the existing Licentiate Assistant Surgeons who will continue in their existing scale, *viz*, Rs 335-20-475-25-575-EB-25 650 (*b*) A post of Medical Superintendent in the pay scale of Rs 1300-60-1600 plus a special pay of Rs 100 has been sanctioned for the Headquarters Hospital of each of the Zonal Railways, in lieu of one of the existing posts of Divisional Medical Officers of the Hospital. (*c*) The non-practising allowance of Rs 500 to the Director (Health), Chief Medical Officer, and Rs 500 to the Medical Superintendent, will be given. The non-practising allowance for Divisional Medical Officer has been raised to 35 per cent of pay subject to a maximum of Rs 400, 33⅓ per cent of pay subject to a minimum of Rs 150 for Assistant Medcal Officer and Assistant Surgeon (*d*) serving Assistant Medical Officers, substantive or officiating in non-fortuitous vacancies on January 1, 1966, will be eligible for one advance increment on that date

The Government of Gujarat has also rationalized their pay scales, in order to attract qualified medical personnel to the Government service, with effect from November, 1, 1965, as follows: (1) Persons in Class I Cadre will get the pay scale of Rs 420-30-610-35-755-EB-40-875-45-1100 All posts of G M S. (Public Health) in Class II have been upgraded to Class I and the new entrants will get a non-practicing allowance at the rate of 33⅓ per cent of the basic pay subject to a minimum of Rs 175 p m. (2) All medical persons, who possess minimum educational qalification of M B B S deggree will be placed in Class II in the pay scale of Rs 280-15-385-20 485-EB-25-735 and the less qualified persons will continue in their present pay scales All the new entrants, who are M B B S will be given 5 to 7 advance increments and a non-practicing allowance at the rate

of 33⅓ per cent of the basic pay subject to a minimum of Rs. 150 p.m. (3) All persons possessing L.C.P.& S., L.M.P., G.F., A.M.B.A.M.S., D.A.S. D.S.A.C. and other equivalent qualifications will be placed in Class III in the pay scale of Rs. 160-6-190-8-230-EB-8-310-EB-20-370. New entrants will get 3 to 7 advance increments and non-practicing allowance of 33⅓ of the basic pay subject to a minimum of Rs. 75 p.m.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh has decided to give grants-in-aid, from Rs. 42 to Rs. 120 p.m., to the registered medical practitioners in Indian Medicine and Homoeopathy, who are practising in villages, where the medical facilities have not been provided by the Government or Local Bodies. Medicines to the values of 25 per cent of the sanctioned grant will also be supplied by the Government. The exact amount of grant will be based on the daily average attendance of patients, which should be at least 20 to 25 per day, both new and old, satisfactory maintenance of registers prescribed and that they will treat at least 50per cent of the patients free of charge. These dispensaries shall be inspected at least once in a year and such grants-in-aid will be stopped as soon as other medical facilities are provided by the Government or Local Bodies The Government servants will not be entitled to receive such grants.

The State Government has also sanctioned a family allowance of Rs. 75 to each of the Staff Nurses, who have been seconded to the Military Nursing Service during the present Emergency or during the Emergency in 1962 irrespective of the fact whether they are married or single, whether they are temporary or regular in the Andhra Pradesh Medical Subordinate Services

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The Committee on Public Undertakings has, in its thirteenth report on Management and Administration of Public Undertakings (Planning of Projects), recommended that Parliament should be informed periodically of the progress on the execution of various public sector projects because in the past serious difficulties and revisions of estimates, etc., have come to light only when some Members raised the matter on the floor of the House or through Annual and Audit reports which are placed on the Table of the House at a very later stage.

The Committe has recommended, among others, as follows: (1) At the time of the setting up of a public undertaking, the Government should indicate the specific objectives for which it is being set up, the precise targets it has to achieve, the time schedule for completion, and the estimated cost. From time to time the Government should also indicate what the undertaking should attain in a prescribed period. This would not only serve as an incentive to the undertaking but give the Government a yardstick to measure its performance. (2) The estimates of foreign exchange expenditure should be prepared more realistically and a thorough examination made of the raw material plant and machinery requirements to determine their necessity and non-availability in India. In case of foreign collaborations, the Government should not relax proper scrutiny, and projects with a high proportion of foreign exchange should be under an obligation to earn foreign exchange when they go into production (3) In public undertakings where production and expansion takes place simultaneously, profitability and economy of working should be tested from time to time. (4) An agency with a continuous programme for conducting techno-economic feasibility

studies in various spheres should be set up (5) A team should be appointed to assess the requirements of ancillary and auxiliary industries in public sector projects and suggest measures to set up such industries expeditiously.

The Government of Maharashtra has established an Agro-Industries Development Corporation, a limited concern, with *Shri P. K Savant*, Minister for Agriculture, as Chairman of its Board of Directors, with an authorized capital of Rs. 2 crores, which will be shared by the State Government and the Government of India in the proportion of 75:25 respectively The Corporation will promote the supply of farm implements and machinery including equipment for food industries, dairy development and fisheries, to increase the farm output and modernize agriculture.

The Government of India has set up a Committee on development of technical consultancy services, under the chairmanship of *Shri S G Barve*, Member (Industry), Planning Commission. The terms of reference of the Committee are as follows (1) To assess the extent and types of technical consultancy services required to meet the country's needs during the Fourth Plan period and subsequent years (2) To assess the existing facilities available in the country, in both the public and private sectors, and locate the gaps to be filled up. (3) To advise on the measures to be taken to fill up the gaps (4) To suggest the general type of organizational patterns, for the technical consultancy establishment, which will be suitable for country's conditions (5) To advise on the pattern of technical collaboration or association, which may be necessary for drawing on foreign technical know-how.

The Government of India has constituted a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar*, with the following terms of reference : (1) To examine the extent to which the import of technical know-how from abroad can be dispensed with. (2) To examine the general conditions subject to which indigenous know-how can be commercially exploited. (3) To suggest general guide-lines regarding the type of cases in which foreign collaboration should be allowed

The Union Government has also set up a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Dr. V K R V Rao*, Member, Planning Commission, to reveiw the working of the Tariff Commission, Bombay, since its inception in 1952, and to examine and suggest what other functions can be entrusted to the Commission, having regard to the requirements of development planning in the country It will recommend changes in the constitution and functions of the Commission The Committee will also examine the policy of protection to industries, taking into account the present restrictions on imports

The Monopolies Inquiry Commission which was appointed by the Government of India in April, 1964, under the chairmanship of *Shri K C Dass Gupta*, Supreme Court Judge, has submitted its report to the Government of India

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The Government of Assam has constituted a Committee, with *Shri B L Sen*, retired Divisional Commissioner as its Chairman, to study the question of financial condition of the Municipal Boards and Town Committees in Assam The terms of reference of the Committee are to examine (*a*) the present financial

condition of the Municipalities and to suggest ways and means for their improvement; (*b*) the question of mal-administration, if any, in the financial sphere ; (*c*) the question of arrears of taxes and the ways and means of realizing them ; (*d*) the question of non-payment of Government loans for timely repayment ; and (*e*) the question of sanctioning Conveyance Allowance to the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of Municipal Boards and Town Committees and to prescribe rates thereof

In pursuance of the recommendations of the Committee appointed in October, 1962, under the chairmanship of *Shri Maldevjibhai Odedra*, to study the question of payment of grants-in-aid to municipalities, the Government of Gujarat has classified Municipalities into three classes according to the population (census 1961) : Class 'A' having a population of more than 100,000, class 'B' with population in between 50,000 and 100,000, and 'C' class with population less than 50,000.

A basic per capita grant will be paid to all the municipalities, *i.e*, 30 paise per capita per year to 'A' class municipalities, 45 paise per capita per year to 'B' class, and 60 paise per capita per year to 'C' class municipalities. For 'B' and 'C' class municipalities the grants will be limited to Rs. 30,000 and 22,500 maximum respectively. The municipalities will have to raise their own resources over and above these grants within five years commencing from April 1, 1965. The expenditure on general administration will ordinarily be within 33 per cent of municipalities' own income from non-self supporting items. This grant will be paid quarterly ; and the Collector will be the sanctioning and the disbursing authority.

Similarly, the grants-in-aid have been fixed from land revenue, entertainment duty, education cess, and for primary education, maintenance and repair of roads, expenditure on allowance of the employees of the municipalities, etc.

It is further provided that if the municipalities fail to implement the policies of the Government, their grants may be reduced or discontinued. The Government is also empowered to deduct from the amount of grants-in-aid payable to the municipalities such amount as may be due by the municipalities either to Government or to Panchayats or to such other semi-Government institutes.

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The Government of Assam has constituted a State Evaluation Committee, with the Chief Secretary as its Chairman. The functions of the Committee are : (1) to select projects and schemes for evaluation ; (2) to secure co-ordination and co-operation of various departments to facilitate the work of Evaluation Unit ; (3) to consider the reports of the Director of Evaluation and to suggest to the Government such action as may be considered necessary on such reports ; (4) to review periodically the progress made in the implementation of such decisions ; and (5) to review the scope and contents of evaluation.

The Government of Mysore has constituted two Advisory committees for advising the State Development Council. One will have Minister for Agriculture, as its Chairman and deal with matters relating to Agriculture, Minor Irrigation, Land Development, Animal Husbandry, Dairying and Milk Supply, Forests, Soil Conservation, Fisheries, Co-operation, Community Development

and Panchayats. The Second Committee, under the chairmanship of the Minister for Finance, will be concerned with subjects of Economic Resources and Welfare including Health and Education.

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The Government of Punjab has constituted an Advisory Board for planning of roads, under the chairmanship of Public Works Minister. It will review criteria and methods for assessing costs and benefits, examine proposals for road development drawn up for the annual and five year plans, advise on the preparation of co-ordinated long term development plans, recommend priorities and phasing of programmes, apprise progress made from time to time, promote research and training, and consider questions concerning road specifications and standards in relaxation to utilization of different types of vehicles, either to Government or to Panchayats or to such other Semi-Government institutes.

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The Government of India has appointed a Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri G. S. Pathak*, Union Law Minister, to review the working of the Advocates Act, 1961, in all its aspects and to make necessary recommendations.

The Government of Kerala has constituted a State Law Commission, under the chairmanship of *Shri T. R. Balakrishna Iyer*, District and Sessions Judge, Palghat, to examine the State laws in detail and to recommend the lines on which the laws should be simplified, consolidated, amended, revised or otherwise brought up-to-date.

The Government of Rajasthan has appointed a Committee consisting of State Ministers for Revenue, Agriculture, Panchayats, Deputy Minister for Revenue and other non-official members, to review the land reforms introduced in the state, to find out the bottlenecks and to suggest measures for improvement in their working.



DIGEST OF REPORTS

ANDHRA PRADESH REPORT OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS COMMITTEE 1964-65, Hyderabad, The Government of Andhra Pradesh, pp. 193.

The Government of Andhra Pradesh set up an Administrative Reform Committee, under the chairmanship of *Shri N. Ramachandra Reddy*, Minister (Revenue), to advice on the measures to be taken for the improvement of the existing machinery of Government. The following are the terms of reference to the Committee: (1) To review the working of the Administrative Machinery, as at present organized, and the manner in which it functions, with a view to assessing its adequacy to a democratic Government in a Welfare State and to suggest measures for improvement and efficiency consistently with economy. (2) To enquire into the responsibilities of the Secretariat and the various Departments of the Government and to advise in what manner the exercise and distribution of the functions of Government could be improved. (3) To suggest measures for delegation and decentralization of power with a view to encouraging responsibility and initiative at all levels and securing expeditious despatch of Government business, in particular to define and delineate business betweeen the Secretariat and the executive Heads of Departments. (4) To suggest measures for the better co-ordination of the activities of different departments at the district level and particularly as between the State Government offices and units of local administration. (5) To examine the adequacy of public relations in Government offices and suggest measures for the improvement of contact and understanding between the public and the executive wings of Government at the field level. (6) To examine and suggest measures for facilitating attention to complaints, enquiries and requests for information from the public. (7) To suggest measures for checking the evil of corruption at all levels especially to the extent that these arise on account of the nature and complexity of official routine.

The Committee submitted its report in October, 1965. The more important recommendations and findings are as follows:

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY

(1) Though every one in the hierarchy of the Government is responsible for the various tasks undertaken by the Government, nobody takes the final responsibility for any failure in carrying out those tasks. Changes in the set-up at some of these levels and in the relationship between these levels is urgently called for. In regard to each activity, there should be someone in the hierarchy who is responsible for the overall performance of all those who are in the hierarchy, and who could be called upon to account for the result. Officers at each level should have a clear idea of their duties and responsibilities and also feel that they have adequate powers to perform the tasks assigned to them. They should be able to proceed boldly with their work without the fear of inquisition so long as they discharge their duties in good faith, keeping always the public welfare in view. The citizens should be assured that

their grievances and complaints would be promptly attended to.

The Secretariat

(2) The Secretariat, the high level office of the Government in the State and on the efficient functioning of which depends the proper functioning of the entire machinery of the Government, should function efficiently and effectively. The present Secretariat is slow and leads to great delays; it has disproportionately increased in size and there is no proper co-ordination between the activities of the different Secretariat departments. In a few cases the relationship between the Secretariat, and the Heads of Departments is not satisfactory. The only way of improving the efficiency and the effectiveness of the Secretariat is: (*i*) to select the top most officials available to the Government for the posts of Secretaries and by making each Secretary responsible not only for policy-making but also for the implementation and overall performance of the Departments in his portfolio; (*ii*) to eschew duplicate noting and scrutiny of the proposals sent by the Heads of Departments at the clerical level in the Secretariat; (*iii*) to associate the Head of Department fully with the thinking of the Secretariat and to give him appropriate Secretariat status thereby affording him an opportunity to make his contribution to the Secretariat thinking in an important manner; (*iv*) to make the advice and services of the Secretariat available to the Head of Department as far as practicable, at the "Deputy" and the "Assistants" level, thus relieving the Head of Department from much routine and making it possible considerably to augment the powers of offices at lower levels; and (*v*) to provide for financial scrutiny within the department itself up to a certain extent and avoiding the sending up of every proposal, big or small, to the Finance Department for approval.

(3) There should be one centralized agency to be in charge of the overall direction, policy, implementation and evaluation of the various activities of each department of public administration. The Secretary to Government, who functions at the topmost level under the Minister, must shoulder this overall responsibility. He should not be content with taking or obtaining decisions on such matters as are sent up to him by the concerned Head of Department but also involve himself in close watch over the processes of implementation and evaluation, as well as public relations connected with matters dealt with in the departments under his charge. He should function as the leader of a team. He should not only assist, guide and control his officers in their work, but should himself assume initiative and responsibility for producing the required results The Head of the Department should no longer function as a separate entity He should feel that he is part and parcel of the team of officers to whom a common task has been entrusted. He should at all times be fully in the know of the thinking going on in the "Secretariat" and should himself be able to contribute to that thinking from any equivalent position. The Head of each important Department should be given an appropriate *ex-officio* Secretariat status. The conferment of the *ex-officio* status on a Head of Department would not entitle him to any enhancement of emoluments, the grant of a special pay, etc.

(4) A department of the Secretariat should consist of two distinct wings, *viz*, the Administrative Wing and the Executive Wing, both of which will function under the overall supervision of the Secretary. The Administrative Wing will consist of a Secretariat Cell, a Finance Cell, a Vigilance Cell and a Public Relations Cell, while the offices of the

concerned Heads of Departments, would form the Executive Wing The Heads of Departments, who have been given *ex-officio* Secretariat status, will not correspond with the Government by addressing letters to the concerned Secretary as is being done now but will send the files containing their proposals for approval to the Secretariat with a fully referenced detailed note and the relevant papers Only an officer of the Secretariat will deal with the file. Formal orders will be issued under the signature of the Head of Department as *ex-officio* Secretariat Officer, copies of the order being sent to the Secretariat Cell and the Finance Cell as may be necessary. The closed files will also be kept in the Office of the Heads of Departments.

(5) (*i*) There should be a compact unit led by a Financial Adviser of the status of Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary or Assistant Secretary and adequate other staff, depending on the size of the budget of the department and the kind of financial problems involved in its day-today work. It should also be in charge of the Accounts Branches functioning with the Heads of Departments to avoid undue delays by these branches. (*ii*) Except in the matters where budget provision has not been made or matters where the budget provision has been made without proper scrutiny, which fact the Finance Department should indicate when accepting the budget proposals, the Secretary's decision should be final, any objections of the Finance Cell notwithstanding; in other cases, the proposals should be referred to the Finance Department at the Secretary level, with the recommendations of the Secretary of the administrative department. (*iii*) Cases in which the Financial Adviser has been over-ruled may be reported by the Financial Adviser to the Finance Secretary, so that the latter can, if he thinks that a serious irregularity has been committed, bring the matter to the notice of the Finance Minister and if the latter so desires, to place such cases before the Council of Ministers for its consideration and for taking corrective measures. (*iv*) Persons of at least senior Deputy Secretary's status should be posted as Financial Advisers to head Finance Cells.

(6) The Secretariat Cell of a department should be much smaller than the present Secretariat Department.

(7) The Vigilance Cell should not only watch over the integrity and propriety of the behaviour of the officers employed in the Department but also help in bringing to the notice of the Secretary cases where delay and injustice occurs in dealing with individual Government employees, thereby improving the general tone of the administration as a whole.

(8) The Public Relations Cell in a department should be charged with the special responsibility of explaining policies and Government orders to the public translating the gist of each in local language, setting out the main reasons for its acceptance by Government and pointing out to the public how they can profit by it or co-operate with its implementation.

(9) Considerable powers, both technical and financial should be delegated to the officers lower in rank to that of the Head of Department himself, so that the proposals emanating from the office of Head of Department should not necessarily have to pass to the Secretariat through the Head of Department himself.

(10) Each proposal should be fully considered in the office of the

Head of Department at appropriate level, before a reference is made to the Secretariat Cell, etc.

(11) Examination of cases in the Secretariat should be done only at or above the level of Assistant Secretaries So long as the staff at lower levels, such as Assistants, Section Officers, etc , are available, the tendency will continue to allow them to initiate the noting Therefore in the Secretariat there should be no sections at all on the pattern existing now in many of the Departments and the Assistant Secretary should form the base. Of course, each officer in the Secretariat including the Assistant Secretary should have a Stenographer and one or two Assistants merely to put up files without nothing and to prepare other purely clerical work.

(12) The offices of the Secretariat and the offices of the Head of Departments concerned should be located close to each other so that the easy movement of files and personal discussion may be facilitated between the Secretariat and the Head of Department.

(13) The changes recommended in respect of set up should be introduced simultaneously in all the Departments of Government for which these are recommended, so that the officers concerned do not hanker after the return of the old order.

(14) (*i*) The subject "Labour" should be transferred from the Home Department to the Industries Department Vocational Training connected with Industrial Development should also be transferred to Industries Department. (*ii*) The subject "Courts" and "Administration of Justice" and all Acts not specifically connected with any other department should be transferred from Home to Law Department. The subject "Jails" which is closely connected with "Courts" should also be transferred to Law Department, which should then be called the "Law and Judicial Department", (*iii*) The Municipal Administration and Panchayati Raj Departments should be combined into one Department at the Secretariat level The new Department may be called "Panchayati Raj and Municipal Administration Department" After the transfer of Municipal Administration from the Health, Housing and Municipal Administration Department, the residuary Department may be designated as "Medical and Public Health Department"—Housing being part of Public Health work

(15) A senior officer of the rank of Additional/Joint Secretary should be placed in charge of Organization and Methods work in the General Administration Department and he should be entrusted with the work connected with the follow-up action on the decisions of the Council of Ministers and assist the Chief Secretary in that regard

(16) More and more officers should be drawn to the Secretariat from the field staff. A systematic arrangement should be made under which Secretariat Officers in the concerned Departments are regularly exchanged with field officers. Every attempt should be made to ensure that officers in charge of administration in the technical departments and the officers in the Secretariat have opportunities to exchange their places, every five years or so.

Head of Department

(17) (*i*) The Heads of Departments should have conferred upon them the maximum amount of delegated authority In turn they should delegate as much power as is necessary to their own subordinates

and in particular to officers working right out in the field. (*ii*) The Secretaries to Government should pay special attention to this matter so that any tendency on the part of a Head of Department to hold on to delegated powers without delegation to subordinate officers is nipped in the bud

(18) It should be the responsibility of the Head of Department to evaluate from time to time the achievements of his department.

(19) The number of Heads of Departments should be reduced to about sixty instead of 86 at present by grouping two or three departments into one.

(20) There is no need to give further deputies to the Heads of Departments in addition to those they are already having. The Heads of Departments should, however, be personally relieved of routine matters by delegating such higher powers to officers at lower levels in the department.

(21) (*i*) The Board system of administration as it exists today, may be given up and the functions which the Board of Revenue is discharging be entrusted to Commissioners, who will be Heads of Departments to be constituted in place of the Board. These Commissioners will deal with the subjects which the Board is now dealing and they will have *ex-officio* Secretariat status (*ii*) Two of these Heads of the newly constituted Departments should be appointed as Members of the Board of Revenue for the purpose of discharging statutory functions which the Board alone should do, until the statutes are suitably amended. (*iii*) Each of the Commissioners including the Commissioner, Civil Supplies, may take up the inspection of Collector's Offices according to a programme to be fixed in advance at the beginning of each year by the Government in Revenue Department.

(22) With a view to ensuring that the Panchayati Raj institutions function efficiently, a seprate Head of Department should be created for holding charge of work connected with Panchayati Raj and that a senior officer should be appointed to this post. The functional officers such as the Director of Youth Programmes, Director of In-service Training, etc., should work under him and his office should be located in the Secretariat as the other establishment that has to work under him is already there.

(23) The Regional Authority should comprise only one Officer, *viz.*, the Collector of the District and the State Trasport Authority also should comprise only one officer, *viz.*, Transport Commissioner. Appeals against the decisions of these authorities in respect of licences for bus routes, etc., should be to a Tribunal presided over by an officer of the rank of a District and Sessions Judge.

(24) The purchase of certain categories of equipment and machinery should be left to the Departments themselves. A Committee consisting of Secretaries to Government in the Industries, Finance and the concerned departments and the Head of the Department concerned should review the list of items which could be excluded from central purchase at the beginning of each year.

(25) The Regional Officers should not confine their attention merely to supervision and direction. They should be vested with substantial powers, so that they might be

able not only to give relief to the Heads of Departments but also take final decisions at a level nearer to the people of the region

(26) All the district officers concerned with the development activities should function under the administrative control of the Zilla Parishads and that it is only then that a Zilla Parishad can efficiently discharge the responsibilities entrusted to it under Section 47 of the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads Act. If the Departmental Officers at the district level are to be brought under the administrative control of the Zilla Parishad, it is necessary to have a senior officer as Executive Officer of Zilla Parishad effectively to co-ordinate their work and guide them properly

(27) All Transfers of personnel under units of Local Administration should become the exclusive responsibility of the Chief Executive Officer in future and the elected representatives should not have anything connected with such transfers.

PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

(28) With the formation of the enlarged State of Andhra Pradesh on the 1st November, 1956, two different sets of personnel, one from the Andhra State and the other from the erstwhile Hyderabad State, came together each governed by a separate set of service rules In the absence of integrated rules, difficulty is experienced in regularizing the services of persons appointed to different posts in those services The appointments are being continued indefinitely on a temporary basis, leading to dissatisfaction among the incumbents of the posts. The integration of Service Rules for Andhra and Telengana personnel should be expedited following uniform principles in the matter of such integration.

(29) (*i*) A critical examination should be made of the need to exclude posts from the purview of the Public Service Commission with the object of excluding as few posts as possible from the Commissioner's purview. (*ii*) As far as possible, selections may be made on the basis of a written test (and *viva voce* test where necessary), which will give an impression of fair selection to all concerned.

(30) Recruitment to posts under the Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis which is being made by selection Committees of the Zilla Parishad in which the vacancy arises, should be entrusted to an official agency. A Staff Selection Board should be constituted for the purpose of selecting candidates required for service in Panchayati Raj Institutions on the basis of a written test (or *viva voce* test where written test is not possible or necessary) and for allotting the selected candidates to each district. The Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad may reallot the candidates to the different Units of Local Administration in his charge. The Board may select candidates for Municipal Councils as well.

(31) (*i*) Direct recruitment to the first Gazetted posts should be to the extent of forty per cent of permanent vacancies in all departments of Government and the persons in lower ranks already in service should also be allowed to compete for this direct recruitment provided they have the prescribed qualifications for direct recruitment—a certain relaxation regarding age being given to them Direct recruitment to certain categories of posts where prospects of promotion for personnel working in sub ordinate services is very limited, is not however, necessary, *e g*, Post of Headmaster of a High School in the Education Department (*ii*) In the Revenue Department recruitment to the first gazetted post, *viz*., Tehsildars,

is wholly by promotion from the category of Deputy Tahsildars and there is no direct recruitment. Only a small percentage of posts of Deputy Tahsildars is now being filled by direct recruitment. This is so, because till recently the post of Tahsildar formed only a category in the (non-gazetted) Revenue Subordinate Service. There need not be any direct recruitment to the posts of Deputy Tahsildar, which may be filled entirely by promotion from among the ministerial subordinate service, to provide adequate prospects for them. Instead, 40 per cent of the posts of Tahsildars should be filled by direct recruitment. The directly recruited candidates should be given sufficient training before they are actually posted as Tahsildars.

(32) There is a need for ensuring sufficient avenues of promotion to Government employees. It is not enough to reserve a percentage of vacancies for being filled by promotion. The basis on which promotion to different posts in each service is made should be clearly laid down. Officers at all levels should have the confidence that their good and honest work will receive recognition in the shape of promotion when the time comes and that public interest and no other consideration will prevail in selections for promotion.

(33) (*i*) Promotion should be by merit and steps should be taken to judge merit properly. (*ii*) Promotion should not depend on the judgment of a single officer. Instead, Promotion Committees should be constituted for selecting persons suitable for promotion. (*a*) For selection of officers for promotion to gazetted posts which are not within the purview of the Public Service Commission, a Committee consisting of a Member of the Public Service Commission, the Secretary to Government and the Head of the Department concerned may be constituted, for posts which are within the purview of the Public Service Commission the existing practice may continue. (*b*) For non-gazetted posts in Secretariat Departments, a Committee consisting of the Secretary in the Department concerned, the Deputy Secretary dealing with Establishment and an officer of the General Administration Department or the Secretary of another department may be constituted. (*c*) For non-gazetted posts in the Office of a Head of Department, the Head of the Office, a Deputy Secretary of the concerned Department in the Secretariat and an officer of the General Administration Department dealing with services may form the Committee. (*d*) For promotion to non-gazetted posts in regional and district offices, a Committee consisting of the Head of the office and officials of appropriate status available locally could be constituted. Perhaps the local Collector can be associated with the Committee.

(34) (*i*) All the remarks entered in the confidential reports of the Government servants about his work and conduct—good as well as bad should be communicated to the individual concerned by the reviewing authority if there is one, along with his remarks and by the reporting authority, if there is no reviewing authority. (*ii*) Instructions should be issued to all officers that vague and indefinite remarks should not be written against the column relating to integrity. Remarks should be made after due enquiries and the officer making adverse entries against this item should indicate the action taken or proposed to be taken by him in the matter.

(35) The importance of training of new recruits to Government service is now well recognized. It is essential to impart training in procedures to new recruits. To enable the clerical and lower grade executive staff to have

a grasp of rules and procedures and the principles underlying them, there should be institutional training for a period of three months—two months out of this should be for theoretical training and one month for practical training attached to offices. Office procedure and some of the more important service, financial and account rules and the underlying purpose of these rules should be explained during the institutional training. This period should be counted towards probation. A satisfactory completion of the course of training should be necessary for completion of probation.

(36) (i) It is necessary to organize refresher courses of training at periodical intervals, to enable the officials both gazetted and non-gazetted services—to exchange ideas and to keep abreast of up-to-date trends in organizations, methods and procedures. The Organization and Methods Division in the Secretariat should arrange these courses of training. (ii) All Gazetted Officers recruited directly should have a common institutional training for a period of three months, in addition to the practical training which they are now having.

(37) A determined effort should be made to adhere to the salutary principle of retaining an officer in the same assignment for a reasonable time—about three years; unless the Government themselves do so, the instructions may not be heeded by the Heads of Departments, some of whom are empowered to transfer officers of certain levels

(38) Except in regard to the postings of officers in the higher echelons of the different services, there should be no need for Heads of Departments to seek the orders of the Government. The Head of a Department, who is responsible for implementation of Government's policy and execution of schemes should be free to deploy the officers under him in the manner he thinks best Further, work in the Secretariat can be reduced by delegating powers to departmental heads in regard to transfers and postings Power to transfer district level officers should be delegated to Heads of Departments and that postings and transfers of All-India Service personnel, Regional level officers and Heads of Departments alone need come to the Government.

(39) A duplicate copy of the Service Register should be maintained and kept with the Government servant concerned and entries therein should also be attested by the concerned officer along with those in the original register. It should also be considered authentic for purposes of settling such claims of the Government servant as may arise from time to time Not only the pension due to an officer but his other dues, *e g*, gratuity, etc, should also be settled in good time before the date of retirement and paid to him immediately on retirement.

(40) It would be in the interest of the State to retain officers in service beyond the age of 55 if they are fit and suitable The age of retirement may be raised to 58, Government retaining the right to retire an Officer at the age of 55 or any time thereafter.

(41) The Government servants should be permitted to encash as much leave as they would like to avail themselves of. Encashment of leave should apply only in the case of earned leave but not to other kinds of leave.

(42) There should be liberal delegations to the Heads of Departments in the matter of powers to

impose penalties on subordinate staff.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES

(43) (*i*) A Petition Register may be maintained in each office where the Tottenham System is in vogue, on the lines of the Inward Register and each petition, complaint or application received from the public be numbered in it before it is distributed to the sections. (*ii*) At the same time as the petition, etc., is entered in the Petition Register, an endorsement on a card acknowledging the receipt of the petition, etc., should be issued. This endorsement should also contain the number given to the petition in the Register. (*iii*) Inspecting Officers should particularly scrutinise the Petition Register to see if the petitions, etc.,were disposed of promptly.

(44) (*i*) Unless the petitions presented to the Ministers disclose anything new which was not considered before, they should be lodged simply. Where petitions are presented in respect of matters, the disposal of which is within the competence of subordinate officers, they should be straightaway forwarded to the authority competent to dispose of it and no report should be called for in such cases. In such cases, an endorsement will have to be sent to the party straightaway, informing him of the position, while sending the petition to a subordinate officer for disposal. (*ii*) Whenever an application or petition is rejected, the order communicated to the party should indicate briefly the reasons for so doing, so that the parties may know why that particular action is taken, unless the grounds for rejection are such as could not be revealed in public interest.

(45) The Organization and Methods Division functioning in the Secretariat should occasionally take up inspection work of outside offices. Besides this, no separate and independent organization for the inspection of Government offices is necessary.

(46) In addition to the normal annual inspection of offices at district level and below by the next superior officer, officer higher in the hierarchy to that of immediate superior officer should also inspect those offices once in a period of about five years. The cycle of such inspection may be different for different departments depending on the number of offices to be inspected.

(47) The existing limit of five days allowed for initiating action in a case may be reduced to three days. There may be cases which require detailed and careful study and which therefore cannot be put up within three days. In such cases, the dealing Assistant should apply for time and the time applied for will have to be given freely.

(48) The number of meetings of the Committees, Conferences and Seminars should be reduced as far as possible to facilitate the Heads of Departments to concentrate on important field work. If any of the Conferences or meetings are not considered important, the Heads of Departments should be permitted to send their deputies to attend those Conferences etc. As far as possible, all such conferences may be held between the 1st and 5th of the month when usually all the officers would be at headquarters.

(49) The publication of Annual Administration Reports should be revived in respect of all the Departments. The Government may also see that those reports are published soon after the year is over and are not delayed.

(50) Government should examine the question of delegation of powers very seriously and insist that officers

in higher positions part with adequate powers to those in lower echelons Departments of Government should decentralize their functions as extensively as possible to sister departments, so that the practice of inter-departmental consultation is reduced to a minimum

(51) Considerable amount of time and effort is spent in the offices of the Heads of Departments as well as the Secretariat, on individual cases for exceptional treatment. This practice should be seriously discouraged and Government employees taught the habit of looking to Service Rules, etc, as the final word of Government It is better to liberalize the Rules and Regulations rather than allow relaxations

(52) Each Head of Department should work out and introduce in the working of his department suitable procedures for control purposes in the form of periodical reports. Care should be taken, however, to ensure that the reports are in terms of specific achievements and reflect not so much the energy displayed by the officer as the results obtained by him Besides, the paper work involved should be the minimum consistent with necessary control purposes

PUBLIC RELATIONS

(53) Public Relations cover all aspects of the relationship between the State and the people, and are necessarily an important feature of administration The Public Relations work is in charge of a Director who works under the Chief Secretary and who is also given *ex-officio* status as Deputy Secretary to Government Though there are quite a good number of officers at Headquarters in charge of various items of work, the present field organization appears to be not satisfactory.

(54) A Public Relations Officer should have a fair knowledge of the system of functioning of the Government Departments at various levels and some experience in actually administering some departments of Government, to be of any use to the villagers. At the same time his personality should carry adequate weight with the other District Officers so that any genuine grievance brought to light by him receives prompt attention at the hands of these officers He should be in a position to be received by the District Collector and the Chairman of Zilla Parishad frequently so that the reactions of the general public to the various policies and schemes of Government may be conveyed to them A senior officer drawn from the Andhra Pradesh Civil Service (Deputy Collector) who has put in some service and gained adequate experience in the Revenue and Panchayati Raj Departments and who had aptitude for this type of work will be more suitable for a job than a raw graduate Therefore, recruitment of Public Relations Officers should, in future, be restricted to members of the Andhra Pradesh Civil Service The existing incumbents may be given some suitable refresher training to enable them to discharge the functions indicated above more satisfactorily. The reform in this direction recommended by the previous Administrative Reforms Committee and accepted by Government should be properly implemented at all levels even if this involves some additional cost to Government.

(55) There is no system or agency at present which can give information to the public on various matters of interest and reduce a majority of the public grievances to a great extent The services of Panchayati Raj institutions, the extension officers, the Social Education Organizers, etc., should be utilized to the full

extent to explain all the new laws, procedures, etc., to the people in layman's language, so that the people can easily understand them.

(56) The institution of Vigilance Commissioner should be utilized also for the purposes of redressing public grievances. The powers and duties of the Vigilance Commissioner should be extended to cover the redressal of public grievances. The Vigilance Commissioner should, if necessary, be given adequate assistance of senior officers drawn from various departments to enable him to effectively deal with this work.

CORRUPTION

(57) Information elicited regarding the extent of corruption existing in Departments of Government is varying. While some have stated that corruption does not exist to such an extent as is talked about, others have admitted the existence of corruption to an appreciable extent at many levels. Some pointed out that there was corruption even in democratic institutions. There is no denying the fact that people feel that corruption exists in one form or another at many levels in the administration.

(58) The Anti-Corruption Bureau should not only stay but that should be strengthened so that inquiries undertaken by it may be done quicker than at present.

(59) A deterrent punishment should be imposed on those responsible for delays, particularly in certain types of cases, *e.g.*, grant of licences, permits, quotas, disposal of financial claims, etc.

(60) The desirability of creating an independent cadre of officers for the Anti-Corruption Department in due course and training them suitably for the work of the Bureau should be considered by Government. In the meanwhile, the present arrangement of taking the investigating staff from the Police Department may continue.

(61) The powers of the Vigilance Commissioner should be enlarged so that he may have authority to investigate into all cases of irregularities, delays, improprieties alleged against public servants and not merely complaints of corruption. His powers should be enlarged so as to give him authority to enquire into complaints of corruption against elected representatives in charge of institutions that are receiving Government grants or loans in any shape.

(62) There is need to simplify the procedure relating to disciplinary proceedings against Government servants. Suitable action may be taken on the lines proposed to be taken by the Government of India in this respect in regard to their servants with reference to the recommendations of Santhanam Committee.

(63) A Court of Discipline presided over by one or two functionaries of the status of a Judge of a High Court should be constituted in replacement of the present Tribunal for Disciplinary Proceedings for trying the cases against Government servants. The decision of this Court should be given effect to by the Government without any further examination or without giving any further opportunity to the officer to make representations in regard to the merits of the case or in regard to the punishment. This change should be adopted after examination of the legal implications.

(64) The Conduct Rules similar to the ones applicable to Government servants may be made applicable to employees of autonomous bodies like Municipal Corporations, Public Sector Undertakings, etc.

(65) The recommendations made by the Santhanam Committee in the matter of reducing corrupt practices followed in connection with the

grant of licences, permits and the like should be adopted with suitable modifications for similar purposes in regard to State matters

(66) Proper investigation should be made into the conduct of officials who issue utilization certificates and the Anti-Corruption Department should obtain particulars of such certificates from time to time and verify if the grant was *bona fide* To enable the Anti-Corruption Department to efficiently discharge its functions in this direction, the assistance of a senior and competent officer from the Industries Department should also be given to the Bureau.

(67) The system of collection of subscriptions to various loans floated by the State Government and public sector undertakings on the basis of commission or premium should be stopped. The Government servants should be altogether prohibited from resorting to such collections

(68) The recommendations made by the Santhanam Committee to ensure absolute integrity on the part of Ministers, Members of Parliament and of Legislatures in the State may be accepted.



BOOK REVIEWS

THE OMBUDSMAN: CITIZEN'S DEFENDER; By DONALD C. ROWAT, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1965, p. 348, 30s.

Few persons seem to have devoted closer or more sympathetic study to the institution of Ombudsman than Prof. Donald C. Rowat, who is Chairman of Department of Political Science at the Carleton University, Ottawa. He has travelled twice to Scandinavia to study the scheme there and has written extensively on the subject.

In this volume he has brought together twenty-nine contributions from experts (including several Ombudsmen) from thirteen nations and one international authority, to explain how the institution actually works and to discuss whether the scheme can be adapted successfully to various constitutional systems

The subtitle of the book—Citizen's Defender—explains what an Ombudsman is. He is an officer who receives and investigates complaints from citizens against unjust administrative action. The system originated in Sweden in 1809, was adopted by Finland in 1919, and recently has spread to Denmark, Norway and New Zealand. It is now being discussed in other democracies, and has been proposed for countries as far apart and as different in constitutional structure as Britain, Canada, Ireland, Holland and the United States In India we have already made a beginning by appointing a Commissioner for Public Grievances. He is not an Ombudsman by any means but the Administrative Reforms Commission is seized of the problem of citizen's grievances and if the prediction of the editor of this book that "the Ombudsman institution or its equivalent will become a standard part of the machinery of Government throughout the democratic world", is well-grounded, India too will have a full-fledged Ombudsman before long.

But one might ask with Geoffrey Marshall, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and one of the contributors, why this comparatively recent onset of what might be called (without any prejudice to this issue) "ombudsmania"? After all delay, abuse, error, omission, inefficiency and negligence in administrative decisions are not particularly novel, nor public resentment at them. The answer is to be found in the increasing intervention of bureaucracy in the life of the citizen. There are now many more occasions for dispute than there were before the last War between individual and government interest in which a discretionary decision affects the interests of a particular person, or a group. This is more so in the developing countries The exercise by civil servants of controls on import, export, on travel, on foreign exchange and so on can excite disagreement necessitating appeal to or review by an independent authority Here the distinction between maladministration and incorrect decision is difficult to draw. That is why the New Zealand Parliamentary Commission has been unleashed upon not only decisions which are "unreasonable, unjust, oppressive or improperly discriminatory or wrong" but even upon decisions taken in accordance with "a rule of law" which is unreasonable, unjust, oppressive or discriminatory. At the same time,

the first Ombudsman of New Zealand, Sir Guy Powles, is of the view that "happy results can often be obtained without in any way calling in question the probity of departments or officials".

The great value of the Ombudsman idea as a solution to the problems of bureaucracy in the democratic world is borne in on the reader of this book again and again. But so is the other fact, which is disturbing, that the greatest resistance to the acceptance of this idea is not so much from Ministerial ranks in the Commonwealth countries as from bureaucracy. Albert S. Abel, Professor of Law, University of Toronto, says, the opposition of bureaucracy to the institution of Ombudsman "would require somewhat obscure and refined analysis for its discovery". It would be in operation but never come out in the open. A bureaucrat does not easily tolerate a review of his administrative action by another agency nor can he entertain the idea of "the divinity that doth hedge about him" being questioned or doubted. Therefore Prof. Abel fears that after a brief honeymoon period the strongly-entrenched bureaucracy in the Commonwealth countries would "whittle down the Ombudsman's dominance", and try to "cut him down to size". The only kind of Ombudsman who can coexist with these die-hard bureaucracies is an Ombudsman "shrunk to an odd-job man" and not one "truly effective in monitoring administration".

That these fears of Prof. Abel are exaggerated is proved by the experiment about to be launched in the United Kingdom. According to the White Paper on the subject, introduced in the British Parliament in 1965, the Parliamentary Commissioner for Administration, as the British have decided to call their Ombudsman, will be appointed by the Crown for a specified period; he will be paid out of the Consolidated Fund and not out of an annual vote, and will be safe from dismissal save by a vote in Parliament. If he decides there are grounds for a complaint he will try to put the matter right by talking to the department in question. If this fails, he will report to Parliament *ad hoc*; and in any event he will make an annual report to Parliament. Thus he will have the same status as the Comptroller and Auditor-General and will ensure a higher level of efficiency in public administration as does the Auditor-General in matters financial. As in Denmark, hopes Geoffrey Marshall, there will develop "a spirit of mutual confidence between the Commissioner's office and the civil servants, who would see in the Commissioner's office a protector of their interests against ill-informed criticism and not merely a potential source of publicity for their mistakes".

All the Commonwealth countries are interested in the British experiment, for, according to the Editor of the book, the need for the institution of Ombudsman is the greatest in these countries. In the last chapter entitled "Conclusion", says Donald C Rowat, "these countries are steeped in the monarchical tradition and its undesirable implications for bureaucracy. They have not yet succeeded in throwing off the old legal theory that civil servants are servants of the King rather than of the public, that the King can do no wrong and that, by the process of what one might call "virtue by association", civil servants can never—well, hardly ever—do wrong. Formerly officials acted on behalf of the King, and the old hierarchical myth would even have us believe that when they acted it was really the King who was acting. Hence they had to remain anonymous and their action secret These ideas are out of tune with modern democratic government

and we must ask ourselves whether the reasons we now give to defend anonymity and secrecy are not mere rationalization, whether in reality these characteristics of bureaucracy in the Commonwealth are not preserved mainly for the convenience of the Government in power. For they place serious difficulties in the way of the public's legitimate access to the information, its 'right to know', in a democracy."

If, we replace the word "King" by "President" the above quotation would, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to present administrative set-up in India. A few years ago, a Chief Commissioner of Ajmer issued a show-cause notice to a Deputy Superintendent of Police, why he should not be dismissed. The Deputy Superintendent challenged the authority of the Chief Commissioner to issue such a notice to an officer of the status of D.S.P. The Chief Commissioner consulted the Law Ministry and re-issued the same notice in the name of the President of India !

As compared with his Nordic prototype the proposed British Parliamentary Commissioner for Public Grievances is considerably circumscribed in stature, authority and the area of operation. Any further curtailment in these directions would not only make him *hors de combat* but also render him liable to be hanged first and tried afterwards. If a rogue elephant were loose in one's garden, it would be an excellent thing to give one's gardener a gun. But it would have to be an adequate gun. To give a small rook-rifle and tell him it was better than nothing, and encourage him to face the elephant with that in his hand would be the most direct way of getting rid not of the elephant but of the gardener.

The book was first published in 1965. A second impression came out the same year. It is very readable throughout. The editor has made an excellent job of translating some contributions which were originally not written in English. All readers—laymen as well as experts—interested in improving their country's government would find in this volume much useful information. The appendix includes statistical tables on the existing systems, a bibliography, the Norwagian Act and the Bills proposing Ombudsman for Canada and the United States. The fact that the Scandinavian scheme has already been successfully exported to New Zealand makes one hope that it will soon become an important addition to the armoury of other democratic governments.

R. L. MEHTA

APPROACH TO PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION; By E. N. GLADDEN, London, Staples Press, 1966, p.190, 30s.

The teaching of Public Administration has been until recently backward in Britain as it is still today in India. This may be attributed to the idea that expertness in practical field of administration is a skill to be developed rather as an art by practice than acquired as a science by study. Of course Britain has been until recently successful in recruiting for administrative duties from the pick of the graduates from Oxford, Cambridge, the London School of Economics and other established universities. There it is assumed that best administrators are those who had a general liberal education which makes for the essential administrative quality of adaptability. As Lord Haldane told the Royal Commission : "We still consider it worthwhile for our administrators to know their Aristotle and Plato".

This is in contrast to a school of thought which is by and large maintained in the United States that administration is not only an art but also a science and that certain principles may be deduced from administrative practices which can be taught in schools and universities.

In view of Welfare State commitments—which tend to become the order of the day—interest in public administration has become worldwide. In more developed countries Government agencies become more and more numerous and their activities more pervasive, more complicated and increasingly difficult to understand. The less developed countries which are anxious to catch up with the advanced countries are faced by the need for explanation of such activities to the vast majority of citizens.

In India about half a dozen universities offered Post-Graduate Courses in Public Administration and even less than that number for Under-graduate Courses. In view of the great demand for the teaching of the subject universities like Osmania offered Under-graduate and Post-graduate Courses for the regular students along with the Post-Graduate Diploma Courses in the evening session for the persons working in various employments. A formidable hurdle in the spread of the teaching of the subject is the dearth of teaching material in the subject, particularly for those who are familiar with British and Indian politico-administrative institutions only. Dr. Gladden's book on *Approach to Public Administration* is a valuable addition indeed.

As Dr. Gladden himself has suggested this book is a primer for the novice, be he a student or general reader. Being an author of half a dozen books pertaining to various aspects of Public Administration he has been successful in his attempt to simplify the subject with the object of bringing it within range of the enquirer who has little or no academic knowledge of Government. This book does not, therefore, pre-suppose any study of the subject.

The work is divided into two distinct parts :

(1) A main text whose object is to interpret the essence of the subject without tying it rigorously to any particular system.

(2) An appendix which outlines in brief the principles and structure of the five systems of Government of Britain, U.S A., France, Switzerland and Russia. This part sets out to provide a brief conspectus of the broad rules which had been taken for granted in first part.

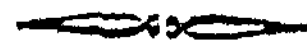
In a world of extending Government and administration by public bodies the lay citizen, the new official and even the hard-pressed teacher often crave for a text that explains Public Administration as simply and in as few words as possible. An Approach to Public Administration aims at doing just this. Because of clarity of thought lucidity of expression and simplicity of style and presentation the present book can be commended for students who have offered Public Administration at Under-graduate level.

The main intention of the present book is to discuss Public Administration as activity that is of universal validity rather than something relative to a particular system of Government. This is quite contrary to more or less an accepted approach of the American writers who concentrated upon explaining the administrative structure and processes connected with their own system of Government. Dr. Gladden has tried to analyze the basic aspects of Public Administration in general. But

at places he has ignored to deduce the administrative propositions from the existing practices in different countries which are similar to and different from one another. For instance, in a chapter on "Staff" or "Personnel" illustrations from different countries representing different patterns of public personnel management like U.S.A., India, etc., would have given a complete picture.

However, the Chapters pertaining to Communication, Control and *Professional Education* speak for the author's own skills of communication.

M. A. Muttalib



BOOK NOTES

EMERGING PATTERNS OF RURAL LEADERSHIP IN SOUTHERN ASIA: By NICD, Hyderabad, National Institute of Community Development, 1965, pp. IV+237.

The volume brings together the papers presented to and a short summary of the discussions at an International Round Table Conference on the subject organized jointly by National Institute of Community Development, Mussoorie (now at Hyderabad) and Unesco Research Centre on Social and Economic Development in Southern Asia, Delhi. The periodical framework and research design for contemporary studies are considered in five papers namely, "A framework for the study of rural leadership in transitional societies" by Prof S C. Dube; "Research in village leadership· concepts and approaches" by Unesco Research Centre, "Particiption in new social structure and leadership" by Dr Prodipto Roy; "Some field techniques in the study of rural leadership· an anthropological approach" by Leela Dube; and "Concepts and methods: resume" by Dr Rajni Kothari.

Studies undertaken in India are discussed by Dr. Leela Dube in a paper on "Studies on leadership in Village India"; by Dr. S K. Srivastava in "Directed social change and rural leadership in India" and by Dr. L P. Vidyarthi in "Some preliminary observations on emerging patterns of leadership in tribal India" The work being done in West Pakistan is reported by Dr. Mrs A B Kiani, Dr S. Ansari and Mr. S M. Haider in a joint paper, and in East Pakistan by Dr. A. Farouk. There is also a note on "Rural Leadership Studies in Indonesia" by Unesco Research Centre as well as a paper on "Leadership pattern and political power dynamics in the rural areas of the Philippines" by Prof Prospero R. Covar of University of the Philippines. Appended is a useful bibliography on rural leadership. The Conference thought that single specific research design could possibly be applicable to rural societies all over the region and it recommended an inter-disciplinary approach to the study of the problem The volume should be of great interest not only to sociologists and administrators and public leaders connected with social change and rural development, but also to students and teachers of other disciplines like public administration. It contains some valuable suggestions for further study and research on rural leadership, though it leaves the lay reader rather bewildered about dimensions of the problem and the exact research techniques to be applied to the study of its various aspects

A GUIDE TO THE LITERATURE OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY IN BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE; By PAREEK AND MITTAL Delhi, Behavioural Sciences Centre, 1965, p. 64, Rs. 3.

The Guide is a useful attempt to list in one place with short annotations, the current literature on research in behavioural sciences and techniques of measurement and statistics related to research. The Guide is divided into four parts. Part One deals with the literature on research methods—general, education, psychological, social sciences, miscellaneous and report writing; and Part Two with research techniques,

observation and interaction process, interviewing, survey, content analysis, projective techniques, sociometry, scaling and factor analysis. Part Three is concerned with the literature on measurement techniques—general intelligence and ability, personality, achievement, educational and miscellaneous, and Part Four with general and special statistical methods.

COLLEGE ADMINISTRATION—A PROPOSAL ; By J. W. AIRAN, Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965, p.57.

The book contains a strong plea for a re-generation of the intellectual life in a college and the structural re-organization of its administration so as to secure a personal and social development of every one of its students. The author, drawing attention to the damaging effects of uniformity insisted upon by university rules and regulations, suggests entrance examination for admission to different courses in the interest of flexibility and experimentation for raising of educational standards. The solutions suggested include careful selection of a dynamic, academic administrator as a Principal, delegation of executive authority by the Government Board of the College to its Principal and by the Principal to faculty councils to be set up for advising on academic and administrative matters and fostering academic efficiency; nomination of persons of high academic and administrative ability by Government to the Governing Boards of Colleges in accordance with the wishes of those Boards so as to meet the current needs of the College, establishment of students councils which will, among others, operate a co-operative store and an employment bureau and organize sports activities; differentiation of roles of different members of the college faculty in term of specific responsibilitis, *e.g.*, public relations, periodical tests and examinations and provoking discussion on changes in syllabi, improvement of methods of maintaining student records, etc. The Appendices include a questionnaire for soliciting the comments of students on teaching methods and teacher-student relationship and for evaluation of the programme and methods of work and functioning of college administration in terms of their purposes and objectives. The author favours the evolution of a cadre of academic administrators who would be "generalists" academically, but "specialists" in particular administrative jobs concerning college administration. All these recommendations are directed to streamline college administration by dividing and delegating responsibility in clear terms, though the author at an earlier stage observes that "To say that carefully worked out rules and regulations will achieve the desired results is to confuse college administration with a business administration or with the working of a Government department. Not to give it any serious thought is to trifle with an immense human intellectual enterprise".



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